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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 46,662

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Blair: I am not dumping ideals

Labour leader answers critics

Michael White Political Editor

TONY BLAIR was fighting on two fronts last night to debunk John Major's starting claim that lower taxes are a moral issue while

simultaneously reassuring his own party activists that New Labour is not "dumping" socialist ideals. In an article in today's Guardian, the Labour leader rejects any suggestion that he is a closet Liberal Democrat or that he regards his party as a "failure". But he remains adamant about the need for

centre-left parties around the world to change in response to electoral defeat. In a separate initiative, he also ridiculed what Mr Major sees as the morality of tax-cutting for its own sake. Mr Blair told Radio 4's World at One that a truly moral government would see its purpose as providing good health and education, and tackling unemployment and homelessness.

How best to achieve such aims will be central to the election battle. But after last week's bruising exchanges at the TUC conference, Mr Blair still feels the need to bolster

core support as well as continue his appeal to floating voters. Denying that he has "dumped" Scottish devolution or is "bashing" the unions, Mr Blair insists in his article that necessary changes do not mean that Labour now stands for nothing. "The difficulty is making the argument without distortion. In particular, we should exorcise the language of betrayal", and debate without rancour, he writes.

"In making these changes, we are not ending the socialist ideal. On the contrary, we are giving it new life for

today. My kind of socialism is a set of values, based around notions of social justice. It remains. "Socialism as a rigid form of economic determinism has ended," but New Labour remains "within the traditions of social democracy and democratic socialism" Mr Blair writes - days after fellow-modernisers in Labour's ranks urged the ditching of the socialist label.

As senior Tories eagerly monitored signs of Labour division, John Prescott intervened in the debate to reassure traditionalists that even the rewritten version of

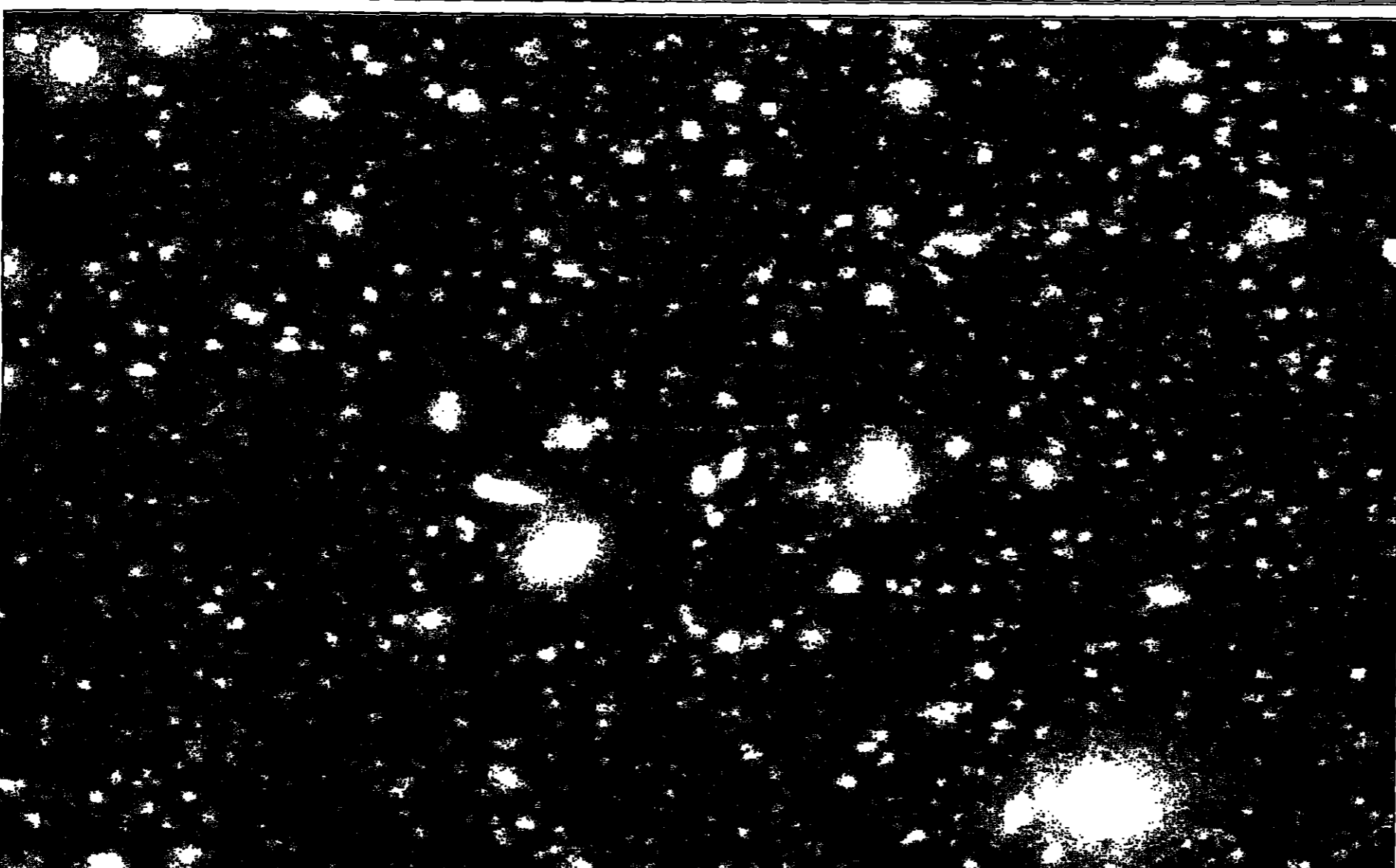
Labour's Clause 4 still asserts it is "a democratic socialist party". Mr Blair's deputy pointedly reminded a Road to the Manifesto rally in Luton that the crucial words "were agreed by Tony and myself to ensure we are relevant right into the next century" and went on to take a gentle swipe against too much Lib-Lab co-operation. He mentioned the word "socialist" four times.

Mr Prescott said the NHS had been conceived by the Liberal academic, Lord Beveridge, as an insurance-based system, and turned into one paid for out of taxes by the

Attlee government. "It was a Labour government which took this Liberal idea and transformed it into a democratic socialist concept," he said. In a keynote lecture in London yesterday the Prime Minister accused Blairite Labour of having more in common with the statist regimes of communist eastern Europe. Claiming that "the case for smaller government is as much a moral case as an economic one", Mr Major again pledged the Tories to cut income tax when they can. Amid scorn from Liberal Democrats as well as Labour,

he said his aim is to get public spending below 40 per cent of gross national product - scarcely lower than in 1979, critics quickly pointed out. "Smaller government fits with a belief in individual freedom and choice - still one of the basic divides in British politics," he said. Government should not "interfere and meddle where it is not needed", he insisted. It should be an "enabler" he said, in terms some Labour strategists would recognise.

Major attacks 'big government', page 3; Blair on socialism, page 9



A view of deep space from the William Herschel telescope showing young galaxies in the process of formation billions of years ago

Space, the final frontier, as seen down 10-billion-year time tunnel to birth of galaxies

Tim Radford finds truth of matter is out there

BRITISH astronomers using three telescopes as a kind of time machine have witnessed the birth of the first galaxies 10 billion years ago - and set a puzzle for those trying to calculate the birth of time itself. Dr Tom Shanks, of the Durham Cosmology Group, reports in Nature today that the detection of the oldest, faintest galaxies could once again force astronomers to think again about the moment of creation.

Not only do the latest findings raise questions about when the universe - all the

stars, all the light, all space and all time - began, they also raise questions about how it will all end. Dr Shanks said yesterday: "I think we have seen the final frontier."

His group, based at the University of Durham, combined data from the Hubble telescope, orbiting above the Earth's atmosphere, the William Herschel telescope run by Britain, the Netherlands and Spain in the Canary Islands and the UK's infra-red telescope on Hawaii. Using exposures of 120, 50 and 30 hours respectively, astronomers focused

on a tiny part of the sky and caught the faintest wisps of light from the most distant galaxies. In effect, they looked down a long tunnel of time back to a moment when the universe was perhaps a third or even fifth of its present age.

The galaxies they detected are blue, which is taken to mean that they are very newly-formed. But the light from them is also "redshifted" - which means they are accelerating away very swiftly.

This, to astronomers, means they are very far away. The universe began,

according to theory, with a Big Bang and galaxies have been expanding away from each other ever since. But if the galaxies are very far away, then they are also very far back in time.

"In the same way that light takes eight minutes to get from the Sun to the Earth, the light from these galaxies has taken 10 billion years to get to the Earth," said Dr Shanks. According to at least one set of theories, this is too early for star formation. But, Dr Shanks said, cosmology had been a theoretical



Consumers spark boom

Larry Elliott Economics Editor

BRITAIN'S high streets are enjoying their biggest boom since the late 1980s, as the Government's preferred measure and a better guide to the underlying trend - the volume of sales was up by 3.5 per cent on a year earlier.

Official figures released yesterday showed that a combination of low interest rates, dormant inflation and the revival in the housing market wooed consumers back into the shops last month. Data from the Office for National Statistics showed that retail sales surged by 1 per cent in August, the strongest sign yet that the "iceberg" factor may at last be returning.

The Treasury played down the importance of the August figures, but the City said the strength of consumer activity sharply reduced the chances of further cuts in interest rates for the foreseeable future. Activity was 4.4 per cent higher in August than in the same month a year ago - the fastest rate of growth since the spring of 1989, when the economy was starting to slow

down under the weight of double-digit interest rates. Last month's rise followed a fall of 0.6 per cent in July, but the City said the underlying rise in consumer spending was no longer in any doubt.

In the three months to August - the Government's preferred measure and a better guide to the underlying trend - the volume of sales was up by 3.5 per cent on a year earlier.

Hefty prices discounting meant stores selling clothes and shoes had their best three-month trading period for 10 years, with the volume of sales up by more than 9 per cent on the June to August period of 1995.

Sales of household goods, which languished during the seven-year house-price slump, were almost 7 per cent higher in the latest quarter than a year earlier.

Liberal Democrat Treasury spokesman Malcolm Bruce said: "It looks sadly as if Mr Clarke's economic policy now consists of inflationeering instead of securing the long-term investment the economy desperately needs."

Spending soars, page 3; Notebook, page 11

Nursery vouchers a nightmare, say Tory councils

Rebecca Smithers Political Correspondent

THE future of John Major's nursery voucher scheme was thrown into doubt last night after Tory-controlled Westminster council warned that the pilot it is running is fraught with problems and a bureaucratic nightmare for teachers.

In a leaked submission to the all-party education committee, the council has questioned Mr Major's promise

that the scheme will widen choice and improve the quality of education. It claims that "market forces on their own will not address shortage of places" and that "the likelihood of a voucher scheme stimulating the market to create new places is doubtful".

It also warns that the £1,100 vouchers do not even cover the cost of a part-time nursery place and that the number of places could fall. "These difficulties need to be addressed by the Government," it says.

The assessment is detailed by Deirdre McGrath, Westminster's director of education and leisure, in a submission to MPs investigating the operation of the nursery voucher scheme. The five-page document - leaked to the Labour MP Margaret Hodge - was sent to the committee after being approved by the council's education chair, Jenny Bianco.

The report provides the first evidence of the workings of the scheme, which four local authorities have been

running as a pilot since April in preparation for national implementation next April. The Government claims the scheme will boost the number of pre-school places and give greater choice to the parents of four-year olds, who will get vouchers worth £1,100 to use in the state, voluntary or private sectors.

But Westminster's findings will embarrass the Tories ahead of their party conference next month where the Education Secretary, Gillian Shephard, was planning to

make the scheme a centrepiece of her speech.

In a further blow, the two other Tory-controlled councils - Wandsworth and Kensington & Chelsea - are understood to have expressed similar fears.

The councils' evidence raises serious doubts about the viability of the scheme, which Mr Major announced in 1994 as a key plank of educational reforms. It has been fraught with problems, and even Mrs Shephard's has had reservations.

Last night Mrs Hodge said: "Westminster, the jewel in the Tories' local government crown, has now joined the Labour Party in giving a resounding thumbs down to nursery vouchers. The report lists a catalogue of disasters."

She has written to Mrs Shephard urging her to scrap the scheme. "She should use the money to invest in real nursery education," Mrs Hodge added. "That is what parents want. That's even what Westminster Council wants."

Inside

Britain Children's home staff in Brent, north London, have taken strike action because they want a disturbed girl, aged 15, removed. 4

World News A damaging dispute with racial overtones is raging about who should become the next chief justice in South Africa. 7

Finance Up to 1,000 jobs are to go at Ford's Halewood car plant on Merseyside, the price of heavy investment on the new Escort model. 12

Sport The Rugby Football Union and its top clubs are involved in a new dispute, throwing into doubt autumn's Twickenham internationals. 16

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Sketch

Interesting people in a perfect past



Stuart Millar

ON the first floor of the trendy chrome and glass Business Design Centre in Islington, north London, a set of clocks give the exact time in big cities around the world. Yesterday, as it struck 8.30pm in Hong Kong, visitors walking through the grey swing doors would have been in little doubt what time zone they were in: Britain, circa 1955.

"Philately will take you anywhere," quipped the signs lovingly reproduced over more than a few of the stalls on the exhibition floor. Never mind the real world of postal strikes; for a glimpse of a past so mundanely British, step into Stampex 96 — the most important bazaar in stamp collecting's crowded social calendar.

In contrast to the surroundings, the scene on the floor below was more Boy's Own World reunion than cutting edge design. Grey-haired men in herringbone jackets pored intensely over stalls looking for treasure in the form of stamps, postcards or postal memorabilia. With 17,000 collectors and traders from around the globe expected to pass through by the weekend, philately's big noises were out in force.

Even the Queen, represented in silhouette hundreds of times over at each of the 120 stalls, had the royal collection, perhaps the most sought after in the world, on display.

The collection is so priceless that even the three guards on duty would have struggled to withstand a dedicated onslaught from the doctored, earnest-looking enthusiasts — all men apart from a few long-suffering wives — cooing in wonder at the first proofs of the Penny Black.

At the M & S Stamps stall, decked out in fetching Union Jack flags which probably saw service at both the 1951 Great Exhibition and the Sil-

ver Jubilee, the top bargain of the day was a Victorian S5 Orange on blue paper. The mint specimen may have been a fiver then — yesterday it was going for a cool £2,500.

"It's in very good condition," said Malcolm Sprei, behind the counter. "I'm sure I'll have it sold by the end of the week."

Mr Sprei said such rarities were not really his game. "We cater for everybody. Some people sell nothing but these kind of stamps, but we sell stamps from 50p up, so kids can afford them."

Mr Sprei is clearly an optimist. From its heyday when every young lad in Britain had a Stanley Gibbons stamp album under his bed next to the Hornby railway and a well-thumbed Beano annual, stamp collecting is competing in a very different world, where Sonic the Hedgehog and recreational drug use are more appealing to the average teenager than snapping up a rare Hungarian first day cover.

"It takes a lot of patience and effort that young people today don't seem to have," complained Michael Anthony, an enthusiast from Finchley, north London. He has been collecting since his pilot cousin, while on leave from fighting Nazi Germany, bought him an album — six months before he was killed in action.

"I was 10 then and I was hooked. It's an education. You learn about history and geography, but today's youngsters don't seem interested."

His friend, William Kaczynski, who is an expert in mail from wartime Internees, agreed. "They don't understand that there is more to it than sticking a few pretty stamps in a book. When you find something you have been looking for it is very exciting."

At Tony Field's stall, a man was experiencing just that excitement finding a postcard with a stamp issued during the brief reign of Edward VIII. "They only printed three different stamps so they are quite rare," explained Mr Field.

He was doing his best to convert non-believers. "I have never met a stamp collector who wasn't a very interesting person," he said with a straight face.

Review

Ritualistic style unlocks emotion

Michael Billington

The Oedipus Plays Olivier Theatre

IT may not be Epidaurus. There may not be the magic of the night sky or the rustle of the distant wind. But the Olivier Theatre is a good deal more comfortable and it makes the perfect indoor space for Peter Hall's superb production of The Oedipus Plays which, for all its recognition of human misfortune, has the healing touch.

I have always been somewhat sceptical about Hall's ritualistic approach to Greek drama: the masks, the formal grouping, the scrupulous anti-naturalism. But it works marvellously for Sophocles's twin masterpieces in that it yields memorable images, unlocks the plays' emotion and offers a striking counterpoint to Ranjit Bolt's direct, simple, even colloquial translation.

In Oedipus the King the stage-pictures are overpowering. Alan Howard's doomed Oedipus occupies a long platform that juts out over the stage and, at the last, he appears in a hollow-eyed mask which makes him look like one of Bacon's cardinals. The blind, mud-caked Tiresias is led on stage by a boy with a rope in an image of Beckettian dependence. And when the Chorus recognise the horror, a single masked face turns towards the audience in a state of inexplicable grief.

But Hall also brings out the philosophical contradiction at the heart of these plays. "Our lives are ruled by chance," claims Jocasta; and, in one

sense, Oedipus is the victim of fate. But Sophocles also shows that Oedipus has a restless curiosity and heroic dedication to truth. In Howard's performance you sense a passionate zeal to know himself.

The paradox of existence comes out even more strongly in Oedipus at Colonus where, in Dionysus Fotopolous's setting, the sacred grove is implied by a single Godot-esque tree. "Never to have been born is best by far," cry the Chorus in Sophocles's most quoted line. But the action is also a tribute to human endurance, to the possibility of loyalty and affection and to the fact that, while we suffer in the present, "there was suffering yesterday". Hall's production perfectly preserves that balance between pain and stoicism.

In short, the plays come alive for a modern audience. Howard, having articulated a rising arc of emotion in the first play, in the second brings out the ironic humour underlying Oedipus's suffering. And, under the masks, there are striking contributions from Suzanne Bertish as the agonised Jocasta, Greg Hicks as the blindly prophetic Tiresias and Pip Donaghy as the shiftingly ambiguous Creon. Judith Weir's music also has the supreme merit of heightening the emotion without overpowering it. But the triumph of Hall's production is that, while using the methods of antiquity, it makes these plays accessible and shows how human suffering is constantly countered by fortitude.

This review appeared in later editions of yesterday's Guardian

Shepherd sets stricter teacher training rules

Donald MacLeod Education Correspondent

A CRACKDOWN on "trendy" teaching methods was signalled by Gillian Shepherd, the Education and Employment Secretary, as she imposed a national curriculum for trainee teachers yesterday.

In the latest move to increase control over colleges

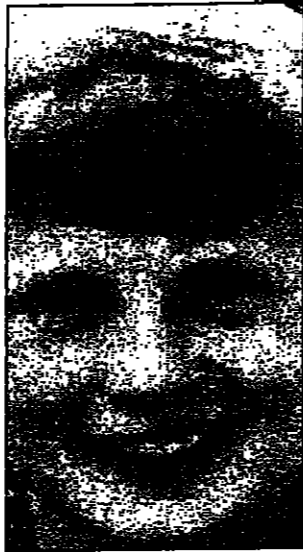
and university education departments — blamed by many Conservatives for promoting ineffective child-centred methods in the classroom — she said trainees would have to demonstrate subject knowledge and a grasp of approved teaching methods.

In England and Wales the national curriculum for primary teaching in English and mathematics will be introduced next September.

MISSING: Lee Boxell

EIGHT years ago, Lee, from Sutton, Surrey, told a friend with whom he had been window-shopping that he might go and watch a football match that afternoon.

He is now 23. He was 5ft 6inches tall and of slim build when he went missing. He has brown hair and grey eyes.



MISSING: Ruth Wilson

RUTH Wilson, aged 16, whose family live near Dorking, Surrey, was last seen in November when she was dropped off by a taxi close to the Hand-in-Hand public house near Box Hill.

Her parents, both teachers, think she may have been worried about her school report.

She was in the lower sixth-form preparing for A levels. She is 5ft 2in tall and normally wears glasses.



MISSING: Stephen Bingham

STEPHEN was 15 when he went missing in June 1983. He left a note at his home in Sheffield, telling his mother he loved her and apologising for breaking a window.

He has two nephews he knows nothing about. He has brown hair, blue eyes and a pierced ear, and used to walk with a limp.



Search for 'lost' children

Britain 'might block action'

Stephen Bates in Strasbourg

THE European Union last night moved to combat child abuse and paedophilia when it outlined measures to co-ordinate laws and police investigations to fight what appears to be a burgeoning international trade in abducted youngsters.

The European Commission and the Irish presidency of the Council of Ministers put forward proposals to the European Parliament to establish a register of sex offenders and a register of youngsters who have disappeared, control pornographic material on the Internet, and give a European police agency the leading role in tracking down offenders.

Odile Leperre-Verrier, a French MEP, said: "How many children do we need to be abducted, raped or assaulted before we find the right solutions?"

Feers were already being expressed at the parliament that Britain might block or curtail the action. The measures, to be discussed in more detail when EU justice and home affairs ministers meet in Dublin next week, are likely to confront Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, with an awkward dilemma.

The Government has always opposed EU intervention in what it considers internal matters — such as the security and judicial systems. Mr Howard, a Euro-sceptic, will be faced a fortnight before the Conservative Party conference with either supporting the proposals, or angering Britain's European partners by declining to cooperate in an attempt to control paedophilia.

The issue is arousing emotion across Europe in the wake of the recent Belgian child abuse case, which has led to fears of an international sex trade in abducted children.

There were repeated calls from MEPs in last night's European Parliament debate for co-ordinated action as the only effective means of tackling pornography and child abuse.

Gay Mitchell, the junior Irish foreign affairs minister, told the parliament: "More than a million children worldwide — some as young as two — have fallen victim to serious sexual exploitation. It happens in Ireland, it happens in Britain, it happens in Belgium. It is happen-



MISSING: Mark Johnson

MARK, from Bristol, disappeared four years ago, when he was 16, leaving a note to say he was going to stay with a friend.

He used to spend hours ice-skating, playing snooker and frequenting amusement arcades.

Friends and family think he may have joined a group of travellers.

The National Missing Persons Hotline is on 0500 700 700

EU family split, page 6

Swiss gold inquiry delay

Holocaust survivors must wait two years for Nazi loot verdict

Richard Norton-Taylor

SURVIVORS of the Holocaust and their relatives will have to wait at least two years before they know whether they can recover billions of pounds worth of looted Nazi gold which the Foreign Office believes remains hidden in the vaults of Swiss banks.

Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, was told by Flavio Cotti, his Swiss counterpart, in Bern yesterday that a thorough investigation into Switzerland's wartime financial dealings with Nazi Germany would last two to three years.

Mr Cotti also appeared to back away from earlier suggestions that Switzerland might be prepared to renegotiate a 1946 agreement whereby the wartime Allies recovered only 12 per cent of the looted gold in Swiss banks, estimated by the Foreign Office to be worth nearly £4 billion at today's prices.

ing in all our member states and we will begin to tackle the problem only when we come to terms with that reality."

Mr Mitchell called for an international register of paedophiles, joint legislation against the sex tourism industry — to enable the arrest and charge of those people who go on holiday in search of sex that would be illegal at home — and an extension of the remit of the European police drugs unit to cover sex offences.

There were repeated calls

from MEPs for the nascent European international police intelligence unit — which Britain has blocked for two years — to be established quickly so that it could take over investigation of cross-border rings.

The Irish government has proposed that Europol's powers be extended to cover trafficking in humans. Belgium has called for an international court to be set up to deal with sex offenders if they are found to have crossed frontiers.

Britain has delayed the set-

ting up of Europol because, alone among member states, its government objects to the proposed use of the European Court to resolve disputes about the unit. Because of this hiatus no country has so far ratified the unit's establishment.

Anita Gradin, the Swedish justice commissioner, said: "Europol has a decisive role to play in the fight against the sexual abuse of children. It is important that it is ratified as quickly as possible."

EU family split, page 6

Space, the final frontier revealed

continued from page one theorists had to confront evidence. "We can take these chaps and show them an actual galaxy, like our own, in the process of formation all these billions of years ago, and actually tell them the time it happened."

There is a catch: astronomers and cosmologists would really like to know what has happened to those galaxies since the light, now captured on film, set off 10 billion years ago. It would suit the theorists if they faded, or merged with other galaxies. There now seems to be too many galaxies in the early universe. The total amount of mass in the universe is crucial to its final fate.

If the universe is "open" then it will go on expanding forever. Most theorists are prejudiced in favour of it being "closed": that is, one day the universe's own gravity will bring expansion to a halt, and then reverse it. Time and space and stars will all implode in a Big Crunch.

GARY LINEKER THINKS RUGBY'S LUCKY. IT'S ONLY GOT 57 OLD FARTS.

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KEN'S MAJOR MIRACLE

# Clarke's boom bursts Tory gloom



The Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, has had an exceptional week, although he refrained from commenting on the evidence of consumer recovery

### Sales figures hailed by City as evidence of a return to the late 1980s

Larry Elliott  
Economics Editor

**T**HE Conservatives seized gleefully on the upbeat news from Britain's high streets yesterday in a bid to dominate the political agenda ahead of the party conference season. Although the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, refrained from commenting on the evidence of consumer recovery, party spin doctors joined the City in hailing the figures as evidence of a return to the late 1980s.

With sales of clothes and shoes 12.3 per cent higher in August than a year earlier, and activity up by more than 11 per cent in stores selling fridges, TVs, stereos, CDs, washing machines and microwaves, the City view was unanimous: if this is not a consumer boom, it is starting to look suspiciously like one.

What's more, analysts said, the prospects for the economy were as promising as ministers could wish for in the months leading up to the election. The public finances may be in a mess, but almost every green indicator was flashing green, they added.

Yesterday's data showed the strength of sales of household goods was directly linked to the recovery in the housing market, after its steady fall from 1989 to 1995. The Halifax building society said the cost of property was falling by around two per cent this time last year; now it is rising by more than five per cent.

House prices, which were crucial in lifting the spirits of consumers in the late 1980s, are proving influential again. Not since the Lawson boom in 1987/8 has business been so good for Dixons and Next. Consumers may say they still feel miserable, but their willingness to borrow, buy and, in some cases, binge suggests otherwise.

Andrew Cates, economist at City firm UBS, said yesterday that in more normal times (ie when an election was not looming) the Chancellor

would already have raised base rates to damp down spending. But the prospects of that are remote.

Eddie George, the Governor of the Bank of England, would love to see the cost of borrowing go up. But that is not going to happen. The minutes of the August monetary meeting between Mr George and Mr Clarke show the Chancellor will only be inclined to raise rates if "inflation pressures started to pick up".

But Mr Clarke is confident that inflation is unlikely to pick up before polling day. The last 12 months has seen a pause in economic growth, with output rising at a modest 1.8 per cent in the year to the second quarter of 1996.

Manufacturers have been left with warehouses full of unsold stocks, forcing them to cut prices in an attempt to drum up trade. Retailers are worried that the consumer boom may peter out if they get too greedy; earnings growth is being held in check by residual job insecurity.

As a result core producer prices — the cost of goods leaving factories — are growing more slowly than they have been since the 1960s, while the annual rate of consumer inflation is set to plummet over the next few months.

Surveys from the Confederation of British Industry and the British Chambers of Commerce have indicated that manufacturing output is set to pick up because factories have run down stocks to the point where they need to increase production to meet strong consumer demand.

Some analysts, such as Mr Cates, believe this portends ill for inflation, because the pressure on capacity will force up prices. But even those in the City who expect the reappearance of inflation do not expect it to happen before the election.

Indeed, some in the City, such as Roger Bootle, chief economist at HSBC, believe the final piece in the jigsaw will fall into place over the coming year as investment starts to respond to stronger growth and a pick up in corporate profits.

Analysts now expect a tough budget aimed at pleasing the financial markets. If the package is deemed suitably stringent, base rates will remain on hold at least until the spring, and may even come down a shade.

Leader comment, page 8

## Analysis Chancellor re-writes D-day history

Larry Elliott

**K**ENNETH CLARKE has had a good week. In fact, the Chancellor has had a good summer, but this week has been a bit special. On the fourth anniversary of Black Wednesday, hardly anybody mentions the D-word.

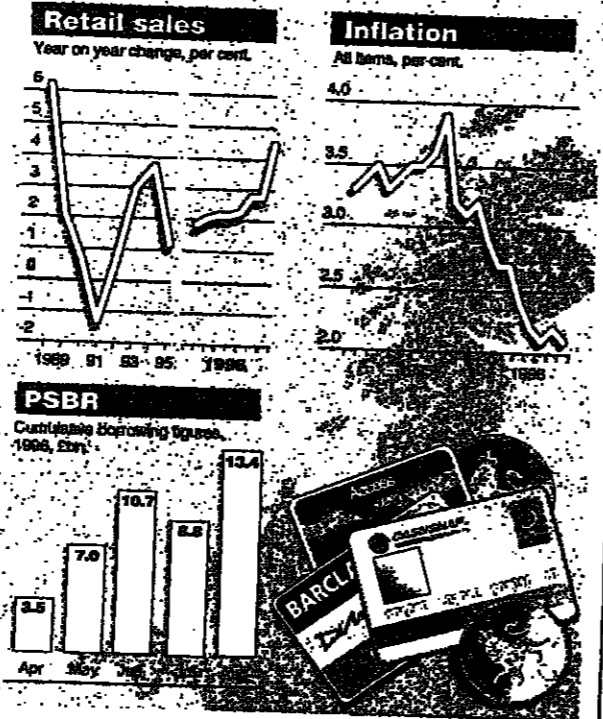
As far as Mr Clarke is concerned, this collective amnesia is a sign of success. Four years ago, Britain had just been dumped out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism, the economy left without a rudder and the Government sent into a spiral of decline from which it has yet to recover.

Ministers admit that after September 16, 1992, things were never quite the same again: it was followed within six months by the furore over pit closures, arms to Iraq, Norman Lamont's problems with his Access bill, and the Charles and Di break-up.

Not all these difficulties can be put down to devaluation, of course, but the period from late 1992 to early 1993 was marked by a feeling that the Government had lost control. Consumer confidence fell like a stone, and the Conservative party's opinion poll ratings followed suit.

It was into this situation

## UK economy



that Mr Clarke was catapulted in May 1993, his predecessor having made one gaffe too many with his "je ne regrette rien" quip on the stump in the Newbury by-election.

In three respects, the new Chancellor was lucky. First, Mr Lamont was the lightning conductor for all the public resentment heaped on the Government after Black Wednesday. Second, the sacked Chancellor had just introduced a draconian yet skillful Budget, in which hefty tax

increases were deferred for a year to allow economic recovery to mature. Third, a far more sensible monetary framework had been hastily put in place by the Treasury and the Bank of England.

Clarke's job over the past 3½ years has been straightforward: to keep the economy moving so that voters will forget Black Wednesday.

Like Stalin in the 1920s and 1930s, the Chancellor has been accomplished at airbrushing out those parts of history which do not accord



Lamont regrets nothing. Livingstone damns with faint praise

with his Panglossian view of the economy. He argues that recovery would have happened with or without devaluation because the supply side changes of the 1980s had made Britain stronger than in the dark days of the 1970s.

Every City analyst dismisses this for what it is: bunkum. Britain's departure from the ERM led to a 15 per cent fall in the exchange rate and a cut of four percentage points in base rates. Companies which had been battling for survival were reprimed, consumers could start to keep up with mortgage payments.

But the Chancellor has kept plugging away, safe in the knowledge that the Labour Party's support for the disastrous ERM experiment has left him virtually immune from Opposition attack. The voters, so far, have proved hard to win round, as on every other occasion a Government has suffered the humiliation of devaluation.

The other side of the equation has involved Mr Clarke trying to re-establish the Gov-



Never a politician to worry

ernment's reputation for economic competence. Here, the Chancellor has been far more successful: so much so that Ken Livingstone says he is the best (or, more accurately, least bad) of the five Conservative chancellors since 1978.

Leader comment, page 8; Notebook, page 11

## Major claims moral high ground

### Blair's 'big government' plans would stifle choice, PM says

Michael White  
Political Editor

**J**OHAN Major moved to wrest back the moral high ground from Tony Blair last night, when he accused New Labour of still hankering after "big government" solutions, and insisted that his own ambition to shrink the state and the tax bill was "as much a moral case as an economic one".

In a speech intended to address the changing role of government from a practical, not theoretical, standpoint, the prime minister cited reforms as diverse as the Citizen's Charter, the NHS internal market and sweeping privatisation as proof of the Tory achievement over 17 years.

Shorter hospital queues, some of the cheapest utility prices in Europe, less bureaucracy, and more responsive services were the result. "The

public service has to be picked up, shaken down, restaped and given a new culture," he said.

The political implication of his Spectator Lecture at the QE II conference centre in London amounted to a challenge to Blairite Labour to set out its philosophy of government — to show voters that a "fundamental philosophical and political divide" still exists between the parties.

Invoking the Asian-US model of government, which spends about a third of gross national product (GNP) — in contrast to the 50 per cent common in western Europe — he repeated the long-stated target of reducing Britain's expenditure to below 40 per cent, a goal which has defeated ministers for years.

"Moral is a word I usually prefer to leave to the Church. But it is apt for what I intend to say. For example, is it moral to take from individ-

uals the right to make personal decisions? I think not. "Is it moral to impose obligations on employees like the Social Chapter and the minimum wage, that will cost jobs and prevent those without jobs from getting them? Again I think not." His words will infuriate losers in the free market economic model.

He extended the argument in favour of "choice" and lower income tax — compulsorily taken from citizens and thus diminishing their choices. Big government stifles enterprise and encourages a culture of dependency, the prime minister insisted.

Likening western European democratic socialism — "or even social democracy" — he quipped — to a milder version of Stalinism, he said both stemmed from a desire to tax, regulate and interfere.

"The more I see of government from the inside the more I believe those failures were predictable, the result of applying fundamental principles that are diametrically opposed to common instinct, common freedom and com-

mon sense," Mr Major said. "I can hear the cries of 'uncaring Conservatives' already forming on the lips of our opponents. Cut taxes? Just an electoral bribe, they say. End capital taxation? Just a ramp for the well-to-do. These cries just blur the argument. They are nonsense, we shall not be put off by them."

Ironically, Mr Major's repeated pledge to renew last night — to end capital gains and inheritance taxes when funds permit is opposed by the Treasury and would largely help the well-to-do. He was also reproaching his own right wing.

"No Conservative would argue that the state should not have responsibility to provide a secure defence or an effective police force. Equally it is right that we should provide a universal access to a taxpayer-funded health service and provide every child with a choice of state-funded education. Other areas are self-evident, such as the welfare safety net," he said.

In fact, all three are under attack from the New Right.

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**Is Clint Eastwood a sexist control freak, prone to violence and unable to hold down a real relationship with a woman? Or is he a deeply sensitive artist, who has spent his career advancing the interests of women?**

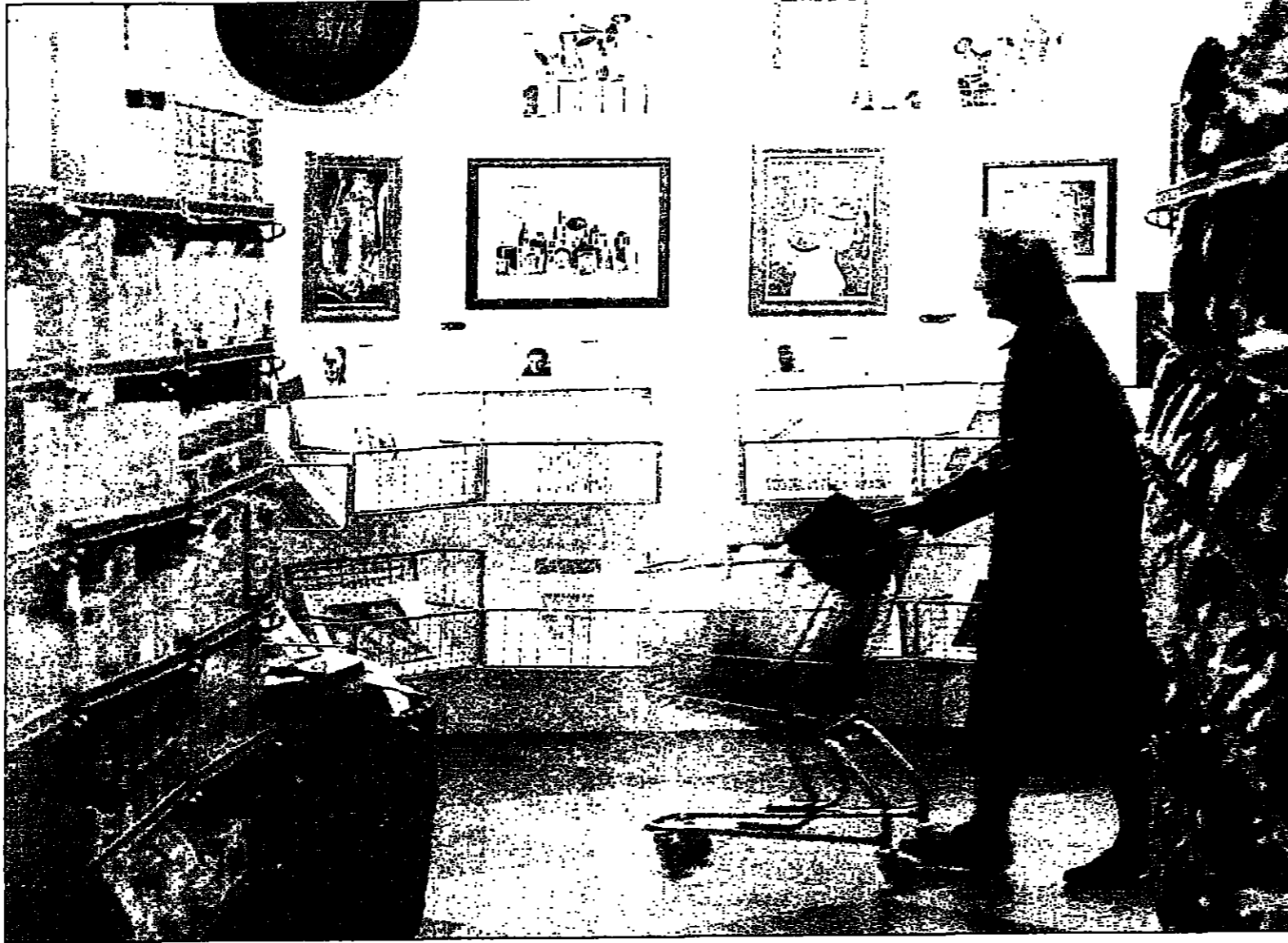
**Jonathan Freedland, G2 cover story**

GARY LINEKER THINKS RUGBY'S LUCKY. IT'S ONLY GOT 57 OLD FARTS.

Radio Times

With supermarket sales and generous gifts, the art world is clearly in capital form

Ab Fab store makes move into selling pictures with pasta and paté



High street art... A shopper at Harvey Nichols checks out culture while wrestling with her choice of crisps

Alex Bellos goes shopping in style

ANDY Warhol's Campbell soup tins may have been art derived from supermarkets, but at Harvey Nichols yesterday a supermarket embraced the world of art.

gallery and bargaining with a dealer, shoppers at the upmarket London department store in Knightsbridge were able to flick through racks of paintings, priced from £125 to £295, as others scan the bargain bins at record stores.

The idea behind Art Supermarket is to "break away from the tired and dull ritual surrounding art buying," according to the

organiser James West. It is also a way to cut the cost of exhibiting in art galleries, and with it the price of such paintings by about 50 per cent.

Mr West stole the idea from Barcelona, where art supermarkets have existed for the last decade, and several artists on show are Spanish.

Her colleague Brian Daly said: "People love to look through bins. It's especially important in the world of collecting."

£2½m donation to 'best museum in the world'

Maev Kennedy on Wallace's windfall

AN anonymous donor has given the Wallace Collection in London £2.5 million towards a £10 million project to improve facilities and make its sumptuous galleries better known.

The gift would be lost if a lottery grant bid for £7.5 million fails, but Lord Hindlip said he regarded that as "almost inconceivable".

The house in Manchester Square, behind Selfridges, was bequeathed to the nation with its contents in 1897 by the French widow of Sir Richard Wallace, the illegitimate son of the fourth.



Wallace Collection director Ros Savill in the museum's sumptuous surroundings

Minister rejects university tuition fees

Government funding to continue 'without any change of structure'

John Carvel Education Editor

THE Government appeared yesterday to rule out the imposition of tuition fees on undergraduates when ministers rejected proposals from the university vice-chancellors for students to take out loans worth £20,000 to cover the costs of their higher education.

silence on the future of university funding after student leaders protested at the plans being discussed by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals at their annual conference in Sheffield.

of tuition were vetoed by the Prime Minister when they were floated in Whitehall. He insisted that free access to university was one of the essential ladders of opportunity in a classless society.

derfunding growing to £6 billion by 2000. The main proposal was a new system of long-term student loans to cover maintenance and tuition fees rising to £2,400 a year, repayable through a 3 per cent supplementary rate of national insurance.

costs. We will be putting our proposals to Dearing, but I do not expect any change in that kind of structure.

Guardian/NUS award judges find harder news edge

STUDENT papers have Srediscovers the art of hard-hitting news reporting, the judges of the Guardian/National Union of Students awards agreed yesterday when choosing this year's shortlist.

The most heartening change since last year was the advance in news coverage on subjects of direct relevance to student readers, including tuition fees, book shortages and quality of teaching, said the judges, who included Diana Madill, Radio 5 Live presenter, Rosie Boycott, editor of Esquire, and photographer Terry O'Neill.

PM's multi-coloured gossip box opened at last

Michael White Political Editor

HERETO unknown peep of British prime ministers emerged last night in the shape of "Old Stripsey", a blue and pink striped variation on the familiar red ministerial dispatch box which contains the "juicy stuff" about intelligence and political gossip.

boxes. It was blue with a red stripe in my days, and it was known as "Old Stripsey". And it would contain not just intelligence, but other highly confidential and personal stuff," he told the BBC documentary-maker, Michael Cockerell.

ghan reveals that, such is the "lonely task" of being prime minister, he would sometimes discuss personal matters including relations with cabinet colleagues — only with the Queen.

Debt-ridden Tory MP stands down to avert deselection

Rebecca Smithers Political Correspondent

ROY Thomason, the Conservative MP plunged into debt by the collapse of his business empire, last night averted deselection by announcing his plans to step down at the general election.

claiming that pressure on his family was a factor in his decision not to stand again. He accepted his party was "divided" over his candidacy.

Serious staffing shortfalls 'are fuelled by scandals'

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

ALMOST one in 10 of children's homes has no manager, and fewer than 30 per cent of their staff have any relevant qualification, official figures showed yesterday.

staff in homes did fall, from 8.9 per cent to 7.9 per cent. However, the proportion of staff with a relevant qualification was only 28.7 per cent (23.8 per cent in 1994) and the proportion of all staff studying for a qualification dropped from 9.2 per cent to 8.9 per cent.

Improving training and qualifications was one of the main recommendations of the Warner inquiry in 1992, following a scandal in homes in Leicestershire.

The figures come amid concern at the emergence of a growing number of past scandals in children's homes.

The disclosure was made by Lord Armstrong, the former cabinet secretary immortalised by his admission that he had been "economical with the truth" during the 1998 Spycatcher trial in Australia.

It is not the only vignette in How to Be Prime Minister. Mr Cockerell's latest foray into politics, to be shown on BBC2 on Sunday, Lord Callaghan reveals that, such is the "lonely task" of being prime minister, he would sometimes discuss personal matters including relations with cabinet colleagues — only with the Queen.

"The Queen was always very interested in that kind of relationship and one could unburden oneself to her. I don't think I'm betraying any confidences when I say I think there were occasions when she could talk to me about her personal issues," the former Labour prime minister said.

Mr Thomason, who won Bromsgrove with a majority of 13,702 in the 1992 election, revealed his decision just hours before his constituency association was due to vote on a recommendation from its executive that it begin seeking another candidate.

Peter Snape, chairman of the West Midlands group of Labour MPs, noted Mr Thomason was the 60th Tory MP to announce he did not plan to fight the next election.

Ministers split over cattle cull

Ewan MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

SPLIT between Cabinet ministers over the handling of the beef crisis has developed on the eve of today's Downing Street meeting to discuss whether to backtrack on the proposed cull.

Some ministers are angry with what is seen as a gung ho approach by the Agriculture Minister, Douglas Hogg, in this week's negotiations in Europe. They argue he should have been trying to secure agreement on ending the BSE export ban, rather than charging around seeking confrontation.

Mr Hogg, who is seeking to abandon the selective cull of 125,000 cattle, won a little breathing space when the European Commission yesterday agreed to look at new evidence from Oxford scientists that BSE will die out naturally in five years and the cull does not have to be as extensive as planned.

The Government welcomed the announcement in Brussels. The previous day the commission had said Britain must adhere to its planned cull.

the concession will not be enough to protect Mr Hogg from the anger of colleagues. The Scottish Secretary, Michael Forsyth, came closest to voicing publicly the extent of the rift when he pressed yesterday for "reasoned argument and discussion" with Britain's European partners.

Speaking on BBC Radio Scotland, he stopped just short of ending the UK-wide approach to the crisis and adopting a regional approach, whereby Scotland, where many of the herds have been

grass-fed and are free from BSE, would go it alone.

The Brussels concession adds a further complication to the Downing Street meeting, making it harder for Mr Hogg to go ahead with his plan to press ahead with the laterally announcing a reduction in the size of the cull.

John Major agreed to the cull at the European summit in Florence before the summer in return for a vague promise from the other European countries about lifting the ban.

Speaking before the commission's concession, he said it had been on "shaky scientific ground" in refusing to look at the Oxford findings.

The shadow agriculture minister, Gavin Strang, contrasted the claim by the Prime Minister at the time of the Florence summit that it had been a great success.

John Major is now poised to unilaterally abandon the Florence agreement in order to pander to the increasingly strident anti-European faction in the Conservative Party, the UK beef industry will not forgive him.

Eating lamb can help protect against the human form of mad cow disease, a scientist working on BSE said yesterday.

Strike at care home on place for problem girl

Sarah Boseley

STAFF in a children's home in Brent, north London, have taken strike action to force the local authority to remove a disturbed and difficult 15-year-old girl from their care.

The girl, who was remanded into the custody of the local authority, charged with kidnapping and abducting a social worker at knife-point and stealing £100, should have been sent to a secure unit while she waits for her case to be heard in court.

Brent's social services director, Mike Boyle, said yesterday, however, that he had tried for weeks to get her a bed, but all three units in London were full.

The dispute blew up at the end of last week. The girl had been placed in the children's home temporarily.

"The girl has been rejected constantly, by everyone around her," Mr Boyle said. "She is very badly damaged and this girl is in pain and at times has what can only be described as explosions of rage."

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The winners will be announced during the NUS student media conference in London on October 26.

The shortlists are: Student Newspaper of the Year: Brig (University of Stirling); The Courier (Newcastle University); Gair Rhyd (Cardiff University); Gair Rhyd (Cardiff University); Huffle (Hull University); Leeds Student (Leeds Metropolitan University); Leicester University; Macclesfield (Macclesfield University); Oxford Student (Oxford University); The Pulse (Sussex University); Spark (Reading University).

Single currency

Risk... EU should... political... T... Santer... Britain's

هكزان التحليل

The Guardian  
Ministers split over cattle cull

The Guardian Thursday September 19 1996

BRITAIN 5

Fifty years ago today, Winston Churchill spoke passionately in Switzerland about the need for a "United States of Europe". Last night the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, speaking in the same hall in Zurich, gave Churchill's theme a sceptical gloss which pointed up divisions in the Government and Conservative Party over European integration. While he was parading his doubts, Jacques Santer, president of the European Commission, was insisting that the euro must come into being in 1999, in spite of German doubts and the difficulties some countries may have in meeting the economic criteria. At the same time, a UN report warned a single currency would bring soaring unemployment. Guardian staff report on the latest conflicts and contradictions over Europe



Sceptic: Malcolm Rifkind in Switzerland yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: HUBEN SPRICH

"Yet all the while there is a remedy which, if... adopted by the great majority of people in many lands, would as by a miracle transform the whole scene and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and happy as Switzerland is today. What is this sovereign remedy? It is to re-create the European fabric, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, safety and freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe."  
— Winston Churchill, September 19, 1946

"We did not follow exactly Churchill's call for a United States of Europe. Nor is it the case that Churchill expected or wanted Britain to be part of such a United States... he referred to Britain, the US and the Soviet Union being 'the friends and sponsors of the new Europe', a role quite different from that proposed for France and Germany."  
— Malcolm Rifkind, September 18, 1996



Vision of unity: Churchill in Zurich in 1946

PHOTOGRAPH: HULTON DEUTSCH

# Rifkind echoes sceptics' warnings

## 'EU should not be political laboratory'

Even MacAuliff, Chief Political Correspondent

THE Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, reinforced his claim to be a contender for the Tory leadership last night when he delivered his most Euro-sceptical speech yet, saying a single currency could divide the European Union. Mr Rifkind, speaking in Zurich to mark Winston Churchill's speech 50 years ago calling for a United States of Europe, said that almost all the 12 countries would be unable to meet the convergence criteria for a single currency for many years. The speech provoked a hostile reaction from other European leaders, including the

president of the European Commission, Jacques Santer, who insisted a single currency was inevitable.

It also angered pro-European Tory MPs, who have watched Mr Rifkind move from being in sympathy with their approach to a careful neutrality, and then mildly Euro-sceptical on becoming Defence Secretary. On becoming Foreign Secretary last year, Mr Rifkind, with one eye on the post-general election leadership contest, acknowledged the dominance of Euro-scepticism in the party by adopting a strongly Euro-sceptical line.

The shadow foreign secretary, Robin Cook, in a speech today will say that Britain faces important foreign policy choices over the next five years and the Conservatives

cannot be trusted to make them because of in-fighting.

Mr Rifkind reiterated opposition to closer European union: "I reject too the ratchet of unending institutional integration that is a decade behind the reality of a competitive, decentralised world. We cannot treat the EU as an experiment in a sanitised political laboratory." Recalling Churchill's speech, he said: "Fifty years ago, Churchill came to Zurich to speak about the tragedy of Europe. Today I want to speak of Europe's recovery, the record of 50 years, and of the daunting new challenges that we now face."

"We did not follow exactly Churchill's call for a United States of Europe. Nor is it the case that Churchill expected or wanted Britain to be part of such a United States, if it was created."

"In the final paragraph of the Zurich speech, he referred to Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union being 'the friends and sponsors of the new Europe', a role quite different from that pro-

posed for France and Germany."

Churchill had envisaged a partnership between France and Germany and Mr Rifkind said that had proved correct for peace in Europe. "Don't believe what you read in some British papers: people in Britain admire what Germany has achieved. Friendship between Britain and Germany is as much a part of

Europe's future as co-operation between Germany and France."

But there had been in recent years a sense of disillusionment with the EU. "This disillusionment runs deeper than a resurgence of insularity or of blinkered nationalism. There is a more profound reason. It is a sense of alienation that people have, of being remote from fundamen-

tal change taking place around them."

He expressed opposition to moves by other European countries for an expansion of qualified majority voting on foreign and defence issues. "That would not have prevented tragedies such as Bosnia."

Mr Santer attempted to counter Mr Rifkind's pessimism on a single currency:

"We are on the way to an unprecedented success in the history of European integration, indeed in the history of Europe itself." The single currency would emerge on target on January 1, 1999, he said.

The Irish prime minister, John Bruton, said there was a contradiction between Britain's chronic criticism of Brussels and its eagerness to see other countries join. "The

Union can't be all that bad," he said.

The extent to which Mr Rifkind is winning over the Euro-sceptics was confirmed when John Redwood, likely to be a leadership challenger if the Conservatives lose the next election, expressed delight with the warning on a single currency.

Hugo Young, page 9

strike at care home on place or problems

## Santer brushes aside Britain's euro doubts

Stephen Bates in Strasbourg and Alex Duval Smith in Paris

THE President of the European Commission, Jacques Santer, yesterday brushed aside British reservations about the planned single currency, insisting that the euro would come into being on January 1, 1999, and nothing could stop it.

Despite growing concerns about the social and economic costs of a single currency, Mr Santer was bullish as he addressed the Strasbourg parliament.

"We are on the way to an unprecedented success in the history of European integration, indeed in the history of Europe itself," he said. "The single currency will happen... It will come into being on January 1, 1999, and a substantial number of member states will be part of it from the outset."

He said the single currency was "of paramount importance to round off the internal market and secure a lasting,

stable basis for its competitiveness, to develop a monetary policy that is geared to the needs of the European economy and finally to establish its place on world financial markets".

Mr Santer's remarks were the more pointed for coming immediately after Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, had warned in Zurich that the single currency could divide Europe and destroy the vision of the European Union's founding fathers.

Mr Santer was backed by John Bruton, the Irish prime minister, speaking in the debate as the current president of the Council of Ministers. He said: "Economic and monetary union must commence on time and in line with treaty requirements... the EMU convergence criteria do no more than set out a sensible path for budgetary policy to which every member state should aspire in any event."

Elsewhere in the debate, however, there was criticism of the EU for not meeting the

aspirations of its citizens. Klaus Haensch, the president of the parliament, said: "More and more people associate the EU with social breakdown and the destruction of jobs. We must think again with the creation of jobs and social progress. The success of monetary union depends on this."

In France — which, with Germany, is driving the monetary union project — the government's unwillingness to cut France's budget deficit to the 3 per cent of gdp required under Maastricht single currency criteria contained a large share of accounting wheezes. But the day after France and Germany restated their determination to merge their currencies, Mr Juppe insisted he had produced "a budget that supports the economy."

Critics said the plan by the prime minister, Alain Juppe, to cut France's budget deficit to the 3 per cent of gdp required under Maastricht single currency criteria contained a large share of accounting wheezes. But the day after France and Germany restated their determination to merge their currencies, Mr Juppe insisted he had produced "a budget that supports the economy."

## Single currency 'will push up jobless total'

Sarah Ryle

UNEMPLOYMENT levels in Europe will soar after the single currency is introduced in 1999 and economic growth rates will plummet to zero, the trade and development arm of the United Nations said last night.

The drive to meet the Maastricht criteria on inflation and government debt levels will severely damage growth rates and increase the rate of European unemployment to 15 per cent, according to the senior economist of UNCTAD.

Yilmuz Akyuz warned that current European Monetary Union targets were stifling growth and called for an end to the "obsession" with low inflation, urging a total rethink of monetary policy on a scale last seen in the early 1980s. He said: "Unemployment should be at the top of the agenda, and growth targets should be raised in order to get investment going."

Dr Akyuz said the UK should be aiming for growth of 4 per cent, compared to the latest prediction of 2.5 per cent by the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke.

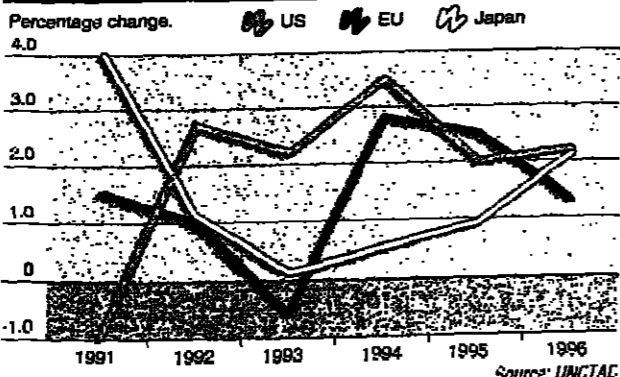
According to UNCTAD's annual trade and development report, published last night, growth in the European Union is already on course to fall to 1.3 per cent this year, the second annual decline in a row compared to continuing improvements in growth in Japan and a return to expansion in the US.

Italy and the UK have seen greater expansion than their EU partners since they fell out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism, and Dr Akyuz said this illustrated the role of flexible exchange rates in stimulating growth. He said that Britain would continue to benefit from being able to set its own rates, but warned that members of a single currency might begin to operate a "beggar my neighbour" policy to counter this.

UNCTAD warned that without a commitment to higher, sustainable growth, or the ability to use exchange rates to stimulate growth, nations would fall back on trade barriers to boost jobs.

The report predicted that the global economy would expand this year by less than the 1995 rate of 2.4 per cent, making the recovery since 1993 after world recession one of the weakest on record.

### World output



serious staffing shortage fuelled by scandal

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# Bosnia team braced for uphill fight

Julian Borger in Sarajevo

INTERNATIONAL mediators yesterday began the arduous task of building a new Bosnian government after election results which confirmed the political control of nationalists over the country's Muslims, Serb and Croat communities.

Diplomats who attended meetings with the newly elected leaders yesterday said that, although there was no talk of secession, there was also no progress on setting up joint institutions.

Unofficial results from Saturday's elections for a new tripartite presidency confirmed that the three nationalist leaders had crushed moderate challengers within their own communities.

Of the three, the Muslim leader and presidential incumbent, Alija Izetbegovic, narrowly won most votes. Once the results are certified, he will become chairman of the presidency, and the country's post-war head of state.

The other two members of the presidency will be Momcilo Krajisnik, a Bosnian Serb separatist leader, and Kresimir Zubak, a leading Bosnian Croat nationalist.

Mr Izetbegovic was visited in Sarajevo yesterday by Carl Bildt, the international community's High Representative in Bosnia, and diplomats from the Contact Group of the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russia to discuss power-sharing institutions.

They then travelled to the Serb separatist stronghold of Pale to meet Mr Krajisnik. They are due to see Mr Zubak this morning.

After meeting Mr Krajisnik, Mr Bildt had no progress to report.

Mr Bildt was trying to organise a preliminary meeting of the presidency in Sarajevo to discuss new power-sharing institutions, such as a multi-ethnic national assembly, a council of ministers and a central bank, and a "quick-start" package of legislation for the new state.

Mr Bildt and the Contact Group's first job was to find an acceptable venue for presidential meetings.

Mr Krajisnik, the diplomats said, refused to contemplate a meeting in central Sarajevo, which is in Muslim-Croat Federation territory.

Instead, he suggested sites on the former front line, which in most places now marks the ethnic boundary between the federation and the Republika Srpska.

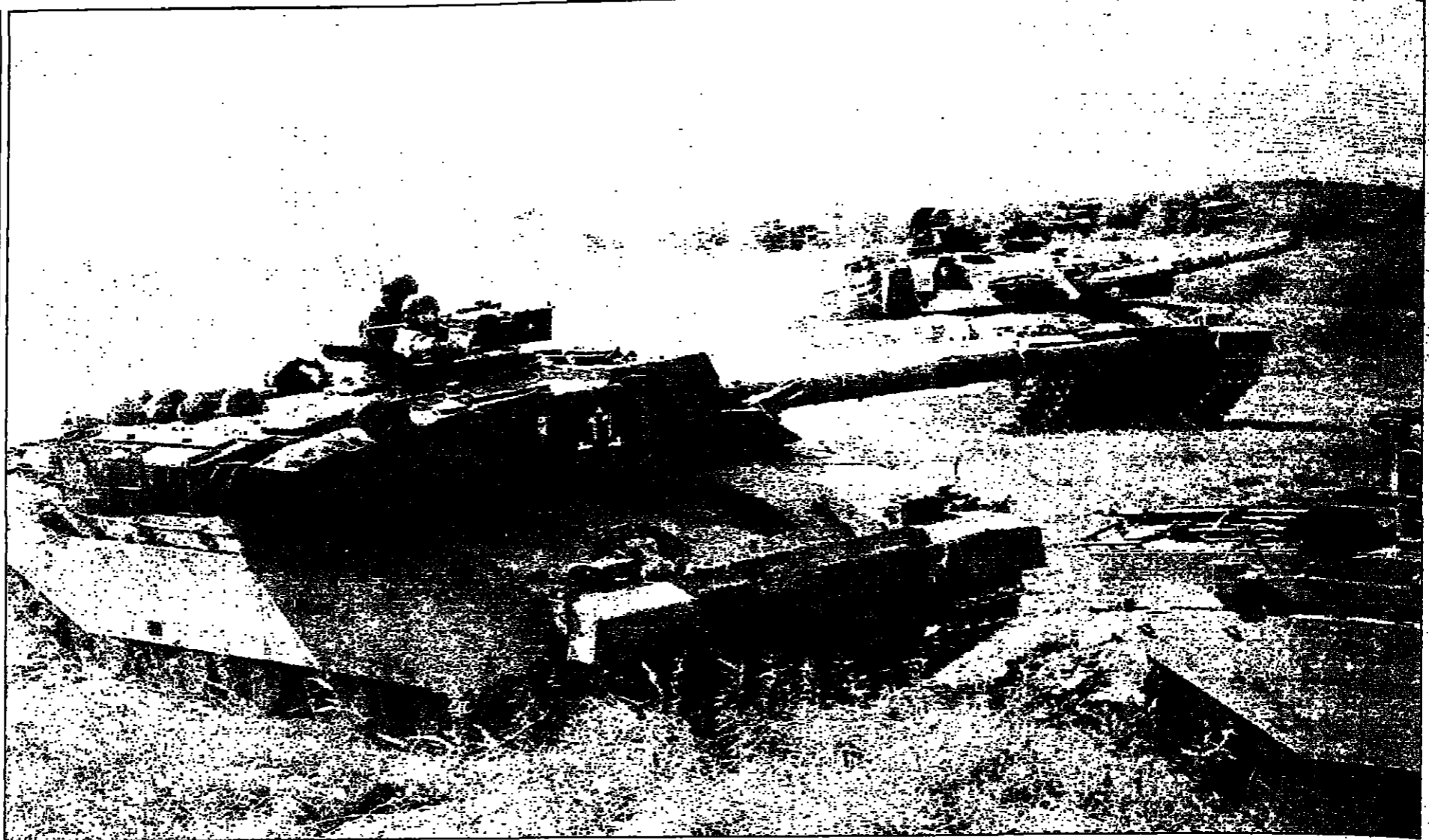
The quarrel over venues will be only the first of hundreds of tough negotiating sessions ahead. All three are known as hard bargainers.

All can now claim democratic mandates: Mr Krajisnik won 67 per cent of the vote in Republika Srpska; Mr Izetbegovic more than 80 per cent of the Muslim vote; and Mr Zubak 68 per cent of the Croat vote.

The meeting between Mr Krajisnik and Mr Zubak is expected in the next few days to prepare the ground for a full meeting of the presidency.

David Fairhall in Sarajevo adds: The German defence minister, Volker Rühle, yesterday reaffirmed his determination that his soldiers play a more active role in whatever military presence replaces the Nato-led peace implementation force in Bosnia after December.

"If there is a follow-on force, Germany will be part of it," he said during a tour of British and German units in Sarajevo.



British Challenger tanks race towards an imaginary enemy across the Drawsko proving ground in northern Poland as part of the pioneering Nato exercises. PHOTOGRAPH: DAVE BRIDGES

# Poland hails Nato invasion

The glittering prize in the historic struggle between East and West has welcomed its former enemy, writes Ian Traynor in Drawsko

CAPTAIN Jacek Nowak grins, lights another cigarette, and rubs his eyes in disbelief at the first ever sighting of Challenger battle tanks roaring across the plains of northern Poland.

The Polish signals officer can barely contain his glee. The Desert Rats, the British army's renowned Seventh Armoured Brigade, has invaded this vast military playground embracing 150 square miles of bog, river, forest and heath.

For Capt Nowak, aged 31, after 12 years in the Polish army it is a moment to relish. "This is the real beginning of our joining Nato. We've changed. Europe has changed. Before, the Russians ordered us around, but now the Warsaw Pact is finished. We're independent. And it's great that the British are here."

For three weeks, the Desert Rats, under the command of Brigadier David Montgomery, a 44-year-old distant relative of the famous second world war field-marshal, have been going through their paces in an initiative that graphically reflects Europe's new strategic reality.

"This speaks volumes about the new Europe," said Nicholas Soames, the armed services minister. "For the Seventh Brigade to be here in a former Warsaw Pact training area shows the enormous change in the strategic environment seven years after the [Berlin] wall fell."

About 3,500 British servicemen in 1,150 vehicles — 350 of them armoured — have been transported here from their German bases. It is the biggest movement ever of Nato forces into former Warsaw Pact territory.

"This is a very rare opportunity to train as a full brigade," said Brig Montgomery. "This exercise area is bigger than anything available to the British army in Europe, bigger than Salisbury Plain."

For the British, Nato expansion is simply a great training opportunity. For the Poles, however, the ulterior motives are writ large.

"This should help us very much to join Nato," said Major Slawomir Zarski, the military chaplain for the district.

Maj Zarski is testimony to the dramatic changes of the past few years. In deeply Catholic Poland, army chaplains were banned under the communists. He has been a military chaplain for four years. "Even if Nato says no to Poland, we'll just keep asking, keep knocking on the door."

After years of equivocation and agonised hand-wringing in the West, the door is finally



Left: Polish and British troops monitor the exercises jointly. PHOTOGRAPH: IAN DUNNING



Left: Polish and British troops monitor the exercises jointly. PHOTOGRAPH: IAN DUNNING

invaded Poland five years later.

When it comes to Nato's expansion, it is Poland, not Hungary nor the Czech Republic that is the prize. By far the biggest of the prospective new members with an army of 230,000, Poland is the strategic key to central Europe, the real focus of Russian resistance to Nato's eastward march.

In 1989, Poland had three neighbours — the Soviet Union, communist East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. None of them now exist and seven years later, Poland has seven neighbours — one measure of the dramatic regional changes that heighten the country's sense of uncertainty and insecurity.

It is emerging that the price of Nato membership is that the Poles will have to forego Nato nuclear deployments and the stationing of foreign troops to assuage Russian and Ukrainian protests.

"The Ukrainian position is well-known and we all respect it," said Mr Soames.

Mr Milewski agrees that "nuclear weapons are not an issue. Maybe there is no need for any nuclear weapons in Europe." He added: "If the Nato leadership decides it is right to move foreign troops here, we will not decline that."

But as the frogmen of the Desert Rats come bounding ashore, guns ablaze, from below the waters of the River Drawa and Brig Montgomery deploys his Challengers, Warsaw is not alone. One sceptical Polish observer sighs: "Oh, yes, it's great the Brits are here. It's great Nato is here. Just a pity they're about half a century late. Why couldn't they have done this in 1939?"

# Key Vichy official must stand trial

Paul Webster

AFTER 15 years of legal limbo, a decision that Maurice Papon, a former official of the wartime Vichy regime, must stand trial in an assize court on charges of crimes against humanity.

Mr Papon, aged 86, a minister in the 1976 rightwing government was in charge of Jewish affairs in the Bordeaux region from 1942 to 1944 and has been accused of arranging the deportation of 1,690 Jews to Nazi death camps in 10 trains. He will be the second Vichy official to stand trial for crimes against humanity following the life imprisonment of the Lyon Milice chief, Paul Touvier, in 1994. He died in prison.

Touvier, who was accused of murdering Jewish hostages, was a minor figure who went into hiding for nearly 50 years before being arrested. But Mr Papon, who never had to explain his collaboration with the Nazis, became a member of the post-

war Gaullist Party. He was decorated as Paris police chief in 1961.

The court's ruling yesterday marks an end to obstruction of trials of Vichy officials for complicity in Nazi anti-semitic persecution. The late president, Francois Mitterrand, a Vichy civil servant at the height of the deportations, opposed the public examination of Vichy guilt, but last year President Jacques Chirac described the actions of Philippe Pétain's regime as criminal.

Mr Papon intends to appeal to the constitutional council but his ill health may prevent a trial anyway. He has just recovered from a heart operation.

His lawyer, Jean-Marc Varaut, said the former minister, who was forced to resign in 1981 when details of his wartime record were discovered, said he was disappointed at the court decision. The judges decided that Mr Papon should face 10 charges — six more than asked for by the state prosecutor in communal proceedings in March.

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# EU family split on life choices

John Palmer in Brussels

**REPORT** into the composition of households by the European Union's statistical arm shows a contrast between countries in northern and southern Europe.

Of the entire EU population, around 10 per cent of people now live alone. But this figure rises sharply in northern Europe, notably in Denmark where 22 per cent of households consist of lone individuals. It falls to 7.5 per cent in Italy, 8.7 per cent in Greece and 4 per cent in Spain.

Although most lone-person households consist of young people in northern Europe, most individuals living alone in southern Europe and in Ireland are elderly. On the other hand, nearly a fifth of the population in Greece, Spain and Portugal live in multi-generational households that include grandparents.

On average 90 per cent of couples who live together in the EU are married, a figure which rises close to 100 per cent in Mediterranean countries. But once again Denmark stands out with only 76 per cent of couples being married.

The trend away from marriage is seen in sharper perspective when the figures for young people are analysed. On average

28 per cent of EU citizens under 30 cohabit out of wedlock. But 70 per cent of young Danes cohabit out of wedlock, a figure which falls to less than 10 per cent in Greece and Italy.

Ireland, where more than half of all households consist of five or more, is the EU member state with the largest families. In the EU, less than 7 per cent of individuals live in households with three or more children, but this figure rises to 17 per cent in Ireland.

Ireland is second only to Britain with the highest proportion (8.7 per cent) of single parent households. Germany, with only 2.5 per cent, is the EU country with fewest single parent households.

The report concludes that in Mediterranean countries and in Ireland children tend to stay with parents until starting their own families, usually after marriage. "In the north, the transition from parental home to forming a new family is less straightforward, marked by spells of living alone and in unmarried couples."

● Italy's highest appeal court ruled yesterday that a Sicilian man who beat his wife "occasionally" should not have been sentenced to eight months in jail. The Court of Cassation said the occasional beatings did not amount to domestic violence, drawing protests.

مکان التعمیر

# Censorship tightens on Iran writers

Kathy Evans

IRANIAN intellectuals and writers say they are facing a concerted campaign by the security services aimed at further curbing press and literary freedoms.

In recent weeks, two editors have been ordered to court, five publications suspended and the Writers' Federation banned from meeting. Intellectuals link what they see as a campaign against them with the rise of the conservatives in parliament in the closing months of Hashemi Rafsanjani's presidency.

The president is due to step down next spring, after two terms in office, unless constitutional changes clear the way for a third term. Until now, writers and liberals have viewed Mr Rafsanjani as their most powerful protector.

Censorship is said to have been tightened recently, and Iranian writers say the desire to preserve Islamic ideals against Western cultural influences has led the ministry of Islamic guidance to ban hundreds of books.

Story lines are rejected because they are too romantic, or portray women other than as wives, daughters or mothers. No novels or literary works are being licensed for publication at present, say publishing sources in Tehran. In a recent interview with the BBC Persian Service, the Iranian Writers' Federation president, Houshang Golshiri, said censorship had become so severe that novels almost inevitably ended up in the bottom drawers of their authors.

"In this country, you could not write a sentence like 'I left my house to buy some cigarettes and on the way I saw a beautiful woman'. That is the beginning of a story. Here, you could only write that you left your house to buy cigarettes," Mr Golshiri said.

Iranian television recently began broadcasting a weekly programme called Our Cultural Identity. It showed meetings of Iranian dissidents and monarchists abroad, cutting to profiles of prominent novelists, poets and newspaper proprietors at home, implying that the two groups were connected.

Security officials last week raided a meeting of the Iranian Writers' Federation in a private home. Mr Golshiri was taken away for questioning and now faces charges of spying for a foreign power. Farraj Sarkohi, the editor of Iran's leading literary magazine, Ardeh, was also taken for questioning, and his magazine was suspended, reports said.

The raid followed a similar incident in Tehran last month when security men entered the home of the German cultural attaché, who had invited a number of leading writers to a private dinner party. Iranian writers say they are seeking only to have their books published and their organisation has no political ambitions. "The meetings we were having were aimed at drawing up a charter for the Writers' Federation to demand freedom of expression and publication. The authorities told us that we were forbidden to meet again," a federation official said.

Last month, the deputy public prosecutor for Tehran announced that Reza Tehrani, editor of Keyan magazine, would be tried on charges yet to be specified, the New York organisation Human Rights Watch reported. Keyan magazine plays a key role in the debate among religious and intellectual circles on the role of Islam in political life. It is the only magazine which publishes articles by Professor Abdul Karim Saroush, the controversial Tehran university lecturer who argues that religion is a private matter.

About six weeks ago another editor, Abbas Maroufi, fled to Germany. He had been imprisoned for six months by a press court for "publishing lies" and "insulting the leader of the Islamic Republic". His magazine, Gardoun, was suspended for editorials comparing the current regime to that of the late Shah.



Kashmiri militants held by Indian soldiers in the village of Handwara yesterday. Four militants were caught alive while five died in a clash with Indian soldiers PHOTOGRAPH BY ALAN RAH

# Dole abandons his fate to the whims of pollsters

US election '96

Opinion polls now dictate the main Republican themes. Martin Walker continues his series on the presidential campaign by looking at issues as weapons

IT IS a golden rule of American politics that the initiative on issues rests with the challenger who attacks, rather than the incumbent who defends.

This year, the Republican challenger Bob Dole began by saying the issue was character. Then it became a 15 per cent across-the-board income tax cut. Then it became teenage drug use. This week, he has redefined his campaign: "This is about crime, this is about punishment."

Mr Dole's failings are in sharp contrast to Bill Clinton's successful 1992 message of "The Economy, Stupid" and his simple promise of "Change".

The economy, currently buoyant, is still Mr Clinton's most potent issue. But his subsidiary themes of education, health care, welfare and health reform match to an uncanny degree the main concerns of the "issues polling" conducted by his campaign, and echoed in independent surveys.

Significantly, the main themes pushed by Mr Dole also conform closely to the concerns expressed in the polling data. He is hammering away at crime, drugs and immigration, rather than stressing the tax cut that was supposed to be the magic bullet of his campaign. Taxation, as an issue, comes well down the list of polling concerns, with only 48 per cent of respondents to the Washington Post's poll saying this concerned them "a great deal".

All this makes for an unusual election. It is introspective, with foreign policy and the defence budget barely making a dent among voters, despite the simmering conflict with Iraq. It is only moderately concerned with the economy, taxes and the budget deficit, issues which have dominated every presidential election campaign for the past 20 years.

The issues of 1996 reflect an

America that has turned in upon itself: to the concerns of the home, family and community; to the fears of ill health and drugs; to the prospects for education; and to the dangers of violent streets.

The politics are more intimate, more personal, and less bothered by the old debate over big and intrusive government and whether it does more harm than good.

Particular themes resonate in each region. Californians usually place illegal immigration among their top three concerns, and their state government is battling with the courts over its right to deny

health care and schooling to the children of illegal immigrants.

California is just climbing out of a deep and localised recession, brought about by the decline in defence spending. Last year unemployment in the state was two percentage points higher than the national average.

By contrast, today's booming Texas barely rates immigration as an issue, although the anti-immigrant movement was born in the state during the recession of the 1980s.

Issues which currently concern the voters are double-edged swords.

Mr Clinton may rate low on trust and on moral values, but he and his wife Hillary battled on to save a troubled marriage and raise a fine daughter. Mr Dole walked out on his first wife.

So the candidates are stuck with the issues pollsters report as most compelling to voters. This may yet prove the most misleading election guide of all.

### Top six concerns

- Are you very concerned by:
- 1. Education system getting worse 62 per cent
  - 2. Crime increasing 61 per cent
  - 3. AIDS spreading 58 per cent
  - 4. College becoming too expensive 58 per cent
  - 5. The welfare system 56 per cent
  - 6. Illegal drug use growing 55 per cent

### Bottom six concerns

- Are you very concerned by:
- 1. Too much religion 11 per cent
  - 2. Whitewater 12 per cent
  - 3. Too much defence spending 13 per cent
  - 4. Term limits for Congressmen 15 per cent
  - 5. Ross Perot "messing up" election 16 per cent
  - 6. Losing America's "melting pot" charm 16 per cent

Source: Washington Post

# Judges' trial of strength with Mandela

David Borensford in Johannesburg

**A**DAMAGING dispute with racial overtones is raging about who should become South Africa's next chief justice.

The contest for the top post in the country's court system is between an African, backed by the overwhelming majority of judges, and the first black appointee to the supreme court bench, supported by the president, Nelson Mandela.

Heinie Van Heerden, the choice of the judges, is the longest-serving member of the appellate division. By tradition, the appointment to chief justice is based on seniority.

But black lawyers and a small group of judges campaigning for the deputy president of the constitutional court, Ismail Mahomed, have won unexpected support from Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela's intervention has provoked furious controversy. Constitutionally, he has the power to make the appointment, subject to cabinet agreement and "consultation" with the judicial services commission.

In a reversal of procedure he has advised the commission that he favours Judge Mahomed. Opposition parties have accused him of pre-empting the commission.

Seventeen members of the appeal court — the highest division of the country's supreme court — have agreed to submit what amounts to a petition in support of Judge Van Heerden. Only one declined to support him.

This week a member of the appellate division, Joon Hefer, called on Judge Mahomed to do the "honourable" thing and withdraw. The outgoing chief justice, Michael Corbett, described the outburst as "improper".

The appeal judges also invited the provincial divisions of the supreme court to back their candidate, and most are believed to have done so.

Only about a dozen of the 15 supreme court judges are supporting Judge Mahomed.

Judge Mohamed and Judge Van Heerden are regarded as outstanding jurists. Judge Van Heerden is more experienced, but Judge Mohamed is Namibia's chief justice and is credited with having significantly contributed to the formulation of constitutional case law in South Africa.

Black lawyers associations and the dissenting judges argue that Judge Van Heerden is identified with the apartheid era. They also say the appointment of Judge Mahomed would "send a message to the nation that real change is about to begin".

But if Mr Mandela chooses him, there could be resignations among the appeal judges.

If Judge Mahomed does become the new head of the appeal court, which sits in Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State, there will be a sweet irony.

As the first black silk at the South African bar, he suffered discrimination. Excluded from renting chambers in Johannesburg under the Group Areas Act

because the barristers' building was in a white area, he was forced to borrow desk-space from colleagues while they were in court so that he could meet clients.

He also had difficulties when visiting Bloemfontein to argue before the appellate division: he was forced to flee across the provincial border before dusk to comply with a ban on Indians staying overnight in the Orange Free State.

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One thing totally clear from the evidence is that Bishop Runcie is a heterosexual, who until his marriage led a happily celibate life.

Lord St John of Fawsley

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Books G2 page 14

## Clarke's £20bn gamble

Windfall gains will boost the feelgood factor

YESTERDAY'S spurt in the volume of retail sales — they were up 4.4 per cent in August compared with a year ago — poses the prospect that the economy may expand too fast in the run-up to the election forcing the Chancellor, embarrassingly, to raise interest rates. At the moment this is only a possibility because the economy as a whole has been growing at a very modest 1.8 per cent so there is plenty of slack to be made up. But things could change very fast because this is unlike any previous election in two important respects.

First, in addition to all the goodies the Chancellor has already showered on us — from £4 billion of budget tax cuts and lower interest rates to the spending power arising from maturing tax-free Tessa savings plans — there is a huge overhang of £17 billion to £20 billion in the form of capital accruing to savers as a result of building societies converting to banks. This is very serious money, equivalent to a cut of 10p to 12p in the pound in income tax. It is received wisdom that most people will keep most of it in their savings accounts, but nobody knows, not even the potential recipients themselves. It has never happened before. Even if punters only spend a third of their windfall gains it will provide a huge boost to consumption and to the housing market at a time when the other two engines of growth — investment and exports — are showing signs of long-overdue recovery. The biggest of the building society conversions — the Halifax with 10 million members — won't happen until after the election but that won't stop people drawing on their existing deposits in advance especially as the Halifax is allowing them to do so without penalty. If the Conservatives win this election against the odds then the reason may well become known as the Halifax factor.

The second way in which this elec-

tion is different is that the Governor of the Bank of England is now allowed to criticise the Government publicly if he thinks the Chancellor is taking the wrong decisions. He already thinks interest rates should go up and if a scenario emerges in which consumption roars ahead threatening to stoke up inflation and snuff out the revival of investment and exports, his objections will become extremely loud. Kenneth Clarke knows this — and the effect it would have on the City. That is why yesterday's minutes of their July 30 meeting (in which the Chancellor reassured the Governor that he was prepared to act pre-emptively if inflationary pressures pick up) can be read as a political insurance policy against things going wrong.

Will they? The Conservatives believe that the self-interested feelgood factor was an absolutely vital part of their recent run of election victories and practically every economic decision they take is geared to the timing of the election. Remember that during every recent election there has been a sharp rise in real personal disposable income (ie after allowing for taxes and inflation) during the quarter in which the election took place — followed by a fall the following quarter. This time the task is much harder than before because of Labour's stubborn lead in the polls.

What the economy needs like a hole in the head is a repeat of the two excessive booms of the early and late 1980s the consequences of which are still with us today in the form of a diminished manufacturing base and negative equity in the housing market. It is salutary to note that although retail sales volume has increased by 12 per cent since 1990, manufacturing output is up by only 1.8 per cent. But then, who is worrying about the real economy in an election year?

## The soap box in a digital age

We have a right to see candidates debating on television

HE DIDN'T say yes, but more important, he didn't say no. John Major was asked on yesterday's Today programme the question which interviewers always put to prime ministers at this stage of the electoral cycle: are you ready to meet your opponent before the TV cameras during the coming campaign? Normally the answer is no. Incumbent prime ministers are invariably advised to refuse. Why give your opponent equal status with yourself? The only exception to that was the 1979 campaign, when James Callaghan was prime minister but the Conservatives were so far ahead on the polls that Labour looked more like the challengers and the Tories more like the incumbents. It was Callaghan who wanted the TV confrontation then, and Thatcher who refused. Her advisers saw two dangers: first, Callaghan might come out on top; and second, if Thatcher herself emerged triumphant, male voters might be affronted: they would not like to see a woman outgunning a man.

The Prime Minister yesterday left his options open — open enough, certainly, to set the broadcasters thinking how a confrontation might be staged. There are serious difficulties. Would the combat be confined to Major v Blair? If so, where would that leave Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats, at present backed by some 16 per cent of intending voters? But if Ashdown was admitted, would it be right to accord him equal time? And wouldn't there then be a case for also admitting Alex

Salmond, given the support the SNP commands in Scotland? Even in the US, which has been staging these confrontations since Kennedy v Nixon, these issues are deeply contentious. Ross Perot is to file a law suit to challenge the decision of the joint commission of Democrats and Republicans that is charged with ordering these things to exclude him from the debates planned for this autumn.

Next, how many debates should there be? Just one would be too perfunctory. Should the format involve just the leaders, with a moderator to hold the ring? If so, who should be given the role of moderator? A debate chaired by David Dimbleby or even James Naughtie. Then, should the leaders be exposed to additional invigilation by outside questioners — a group of assorted journalists, perhaps, as in Kennedy v Nixon, representing the public? Were elections in Britain supervised, as they ought to be, by an independent Electoral Commission, such choices could be entrusted to that body; as it is, it would all depend on trading between the politicians and the broadcasting authorities. The issue of principle, though, can be swiftly resolved. Have the voters a right to see those who aspire to govern them arguing out their case in front of the cameras? Absolutely. It should have happened three decades ago. It ought to be thought intolerable that it might still not happen in the contest of 1997.

## Give Tibet back to the Tibetans

Granting autonomy would be in China's best interest as well

THE DALAI LAMA made a remarkably charitable speech yesterday in Sydney — during a visit bitterly denounced by Beijing. The latest news from Tibet is grim. Huge workteams of Chinese communist cadres have been sent into the most famous monasteries near Lhasa to "re-educate" the monks and force them to disown their spiritual leader. Yet he told the National Press Club of his conviction that "a change for the better is coming." With his usual broad smile, he suggested that a post-Deng Xiaoping leadership would be more amenable to talks without preconditions. He also restated the position that he was not calling for Tibetan independence but only for self-government. Tibet, he suggested, should become a non-militarised zone of no threat to anyone.

China has always reacted negatively to the Dalai Lama's moderate posture (which upsets more radical Tibetans seeking outright independence). The

issue has never been addressed squarely in informal contacts. Sometimes Beijing suggests he is only playing with words, at others that he is being manipulated by foreign interests. China was also furious when the Dalai Lama intervened last year in the search for the reincarnated Panchen Lama.

Internal opposition in Tibet has waned since the big pro-independence demonstrations of the late 1980s. Yet Beijing persists in seeing "splittists" at work everywhere. This is partly because of the super-patriotism now being promoted by Deng's successors. It also reflects concern over neighbouring Xinjiang where non-Chinese Muslim nationalities are posing a more active threat. In the end China's interests are best served by taking the Dalai Lama's offer at face value. Tibet enjoys the theoretical status of an autonomous region: 40 years after it was granted, making it real is the only sensible way.



## Letters to the Editor

### On Perry's bombshell

**P**EREGRINE Worsthorpe implies (Why did he change his mind? September 14) that, in the cold war, the US president had the final say on whether to launch a nuclear strike on the Soviet Union.

Not so. A nuclear strike could have taken place without any reference to the president. My source for this is Robert McNamara, the former American Secretary of Defence. On the 30th anniversary of the Cuban missile crisis, he replied to my questions about the nuclear chain of command as follows: "American nuclear warheads in 1962 did not contain today's electronic device which prevents a local commander from launching a nuclear missile without an OK from the President. Kennedy recognised that, if we invaded Cuba, the Soviets would probably respond in Europe and that in the face of a conventional Soviet attack on Western Europe it was very likely that, rather than be over-run, local US commanders or troops might take it upon themselves to launch their nuclear warheads."

In 1962 a nuclear armageddon could have been started by a chance encounter shortly after the original broadcast. Phillip Knightley, Northumberland Place, London W2.

**P**EREGRINE Worsthorpe still seems capable of entertaining mutually as-

serted contradictions: he asserts that during the cold war "none dare call [Mutual Assured Destruction] evil", yet later he acknowledges the existence of opposition from groups such as CND. Trivial, perhaps, but an indication of how the establishment consistently refuses to accept that any position but their own could be legitimate. If opinion-formers in retirement can come to see reason, might we not ask whether it is in fact the cabal of "the great and the good" that blinds its members to reality? They convince each other and then it is as necessary to convince the world. Herewith one vote for open democracy. It's an old idea but it hasn't been tried yet.

Pete Shanks, Flat 3, Hazely Manor, Rohais, St Peter Port, Guernsey.

**I**N SPITE of the fact that in 1980 Mr Worsthorpe came down — just — on the side of nuclear weapons, the comments he made about them seemed to me, and seem now, to be one of the most effective statements against nuclear weapons I have read.

But why say now that he was wrong in 1980? Had he made the fraction of an inch and publicly committed himself to opposing nuclear weapons in 1980, he could have been a significant contributor to the debate throughout the 1980s. But he was content to make a quirky

contribution from his armchair on the right. In 1980 the issue was alive and kicking; it's dead now. Michael Birchnell, 20 Ravenswood Road, Bristol BS6 6BN.

**W**ORSTHORPE may not be right that Western leaders before Reagan Thatcher never intended to incinerate the human race. It was one great bluff.

But how far down the chain of command did knowledge of the bluff extend? Not very far, surely, for it would have been necessary for those more junior to believe that they would be required to incinerate the world. What did that do to the moral climate amongst the armed forces and indeed amongst all concerned with nuclear weapons?

Norman Smith, The Byways, Surbiton, Surrey.

**W**ORSTHORPE now admits that blowing up the world with thermo-nuclear weapons would have been a mistake even if it had had the beneficial effect of ridding the world of communism.

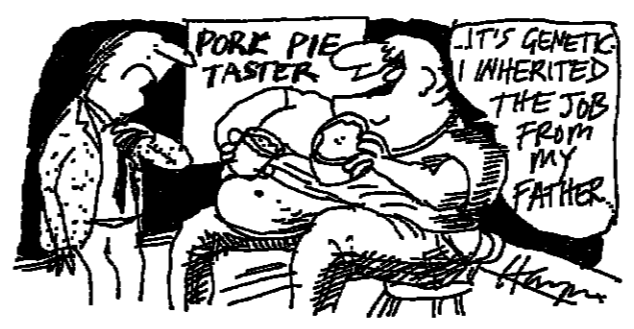
Converts tend to go to extremes. Next thing you know, he will be regretting the arms race, and be writing an article on the links between military spending and world poverty. Harry Davis, 49 Speer Road, Thames Ditton, Surrey KT9 0PJ.

### British Airways and Britpop

**Y**OUR story about the BBC and British Airways (BBC axes attack on British Airways, September 16) is damaging, and wrong in material aspects. John Birt did write to Tony Hall expressing his doubts about the 1994 Newsnight report on BA. He did so simply on the basis of having viewed the report at home, having had no prior knowledge of the item. He has not since spoken or had any communication whatsoever with Tim Bell about the report or any other BA matter. John Birt has had no dealings of any kind with BA about the Newsnight report, except the briefest of discussions with senior BA executives during the 1994 Newsnight broadcast. Colin Browne, Director of Corporate Affairs, BBC, Broadcasting House, Portland Place, London W1A 1AA.

**Y**ESTERDAY the newsagent had sold out of quality newspapers and I was forced to buy the Daily Telegraph. I chuckled at the right-wing rantings on the letters page. In particular, those commenting on the antics of "the Oasis band", calling for all such "cacophony" to be banned. It made me realise why I buy the Guardian. Yet on Tuesday's usually interesting and well-argued Guardian letters page I find a similar all such "cacophony" to be banned. It makes me realise why I buy the Guardian. Yet on Tuesday's usually interesting and well-argued Guardian letters page I find a similar all such "cacophony" to be banned. It makes me realise why I buy the Guardian.

Please include a full postal address and a telephone number. We may edit letters; shorter ones are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used.



### Chewing the fat over genes

**Y**OU suggest (The fight of the fittest, September 17) that our high rate of obesity is caused by modern environments, while worrying about estimates that "genes regulate obesity" by up to 80 per cent. But this figure does not mean that 80 per cent of fatness is due to the genes. It means that, in some populations, 80 per cent of the variation between individuals depends on which genes they have.

The actual value of the trait (how fat people are) will de-

pend on both genes and environment as always. Furthermore, "how genes" a trait is typically depends on the environment: the study population occupies; the effects of genes (eg which genes are fatter) will change in different environments. Roger Ward, Chief Executive, Association of Colleges, 7/8 Rathbone Place, London W1P 1DE.

**T**HE news that the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals are proposing that students should incur debts of up to £20,000 to pay tuition fees and maintenance is a fundamental blow to the

### BBC bias (no, we must interrupt)

**W**HILE I agree with Catherine Bennett in backing the Today team against the politicians (Why Today should pull no punches, September 15), I am sorry she makes their degree of aggression the measure of how far they deserve our support. It is because Sue MacGregor, John Humphrys and Jim Naughtie know their stuff that I find I cheer them on. It is, by contrast, because Anna Ford seems so naïve about many Today subjects that even her first questions are so easy to deflect, never mind the follow-ups, if any. Paul Neuburg, 41 Credon Hill, London NW6 1HS.

**B**RIAN Mawhinney is so often furious and indignant that it must be difficult for the BBC to know when their staff have really transgressed the accepted norms (Tory fury, September 17). I admire Central Office's ingenuity, therefore, in discovering a wholly new level of perfidy: they claim that Anna Ford's recent interview with

Kenneth Clarke left him "shell-shocked". One must also admire Mr Clarke's steady determination to display his usual bouncy self (and inability to answer questions), all through Ms Ford's terrible onslaught. Princess Royal Cottage, Butterworth West, Rodborough, Stroud GL5 5UA.

**T**HOUGH, listening at the time, that Clarke came out of it rather well. Poor interviewing technique, yes, but following Mawhinney's sanctimonious intervention, my sympathy has evaporated. Alan Lloyd, Crispin House, Church Lane, Ledbury, Herefordshire HR8 1DW.

**T**HE word *whitney* was a gentle or joyful neigh. Now it seems to be a whine, a long-drawn complaining cry, a feeble, mean or undignified complaint. Owen Wass, 20 Willow Holt, Ordsall, Retford, Notts DN22 7TN.

### To marry or not to marry: the clues are in the crossword

**P**RIESTLY celibacy is not at all as "seamy" as you suggest (Leader, September 17). As one of the many who, despite the constant struggle, have found deep personal fulfilment in my priesthood, I would oppose any change in the law.

The Gulf is not between the Pontiff and the vast body of the Church as you say but between a Church committed to fostering permanence in the Christian values of virginity, marriage, love, sexuality and a society that has lost its way and its self-respect in these matters. That is the gap the Catholic Church must bridge. God help it. (Father) John Buckley, The Presbytery, Martin Street, Bishop's Waltham, Southampton SO3 1DN.

**Y**OUR claim that priests living on their own tend to be lonely is strange in view of the record number of people (myself included) now voluntarily living on their own and perfectly content with their lot.

Secondly, marriage is hardly a panacea for priests' illicit affairs: adultery is now

at record levels amongst married people. R S Musgrave, Garden Avenue, Framwellgate Moor, Durham DL1.

**T**HE Catholic Church is terrified of abandoning celibacy but this has nothing to do with sex. It simply cannot afford to finance a married clergy and would therefore be obliged to seek substantially enhanced funding from the laity. But he who pays the piper... P A Johnson, 20 Learmonth Place, St Andrews, Fife KY16 6XK.

**O**N the day when a great deal of press coverage was given to the disappearance of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, solutions to the Guardian Quick Crossword were: "Temptress" (22A), "Prejudice" (9A), "Latin" (20A), "Blessedness" (3D), Echoes of Operation Overlord? Stuart A H Walker, 41 Gloucester Road, Higham Hill, Waltham Forest, London E17 6AE.

### True cost of student debt

**I**DON'T want to cause an outbreak of me-tooism, but if you want to see some real funding cuts and denial of opportunity (Cost of a degree — £20,000, September 17) then look at further education.

The colleges — where there are more students than in all universities and school sixth forms combined — are being asked to reduce unit costs per student by 17 per cent over the next three years. This is on top of efficiency gains of around 30 per cent achieved since 1989-1990.

Meanwhile they remain at the heart of the nation's attempt to develop and use the skills of its people. Further education enrolments grew by 25 per cent over the period 1989/90 to 1993/94. Where else can you see such productivity? Roger Ward, Chief Executive, Association of Colleges, 7/8 Rathbone Place, London W1P 1DE.

**T**HE news that the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals are proposing that students should incur debts of up to £20,000 to pay tuition fees and maintenance is a fundamental blow to the

principle of state-funded higher education.

However, it is no accident that those who favour fees now feel emboldened to press ahead. The announcement follows the abandonment of support for the restoration of student grants by the leadership of both Labour and the National Union of Students.

The choice posed by the crisis in further and higher education cannot be reduced to graduate tax and fees versus higher income tax. A shift in economic priorities to reverse the unprecedented growth of dividends since 1979, cutting Britain's military expenditure to the average level of our European competitors and ending tax breaks for the very richest sections of society could help fund an egalitarian, universal higher-education system. Clive Lewis, Ex Vice-President, Education, NUS 1995-6, Graham Hellawell, Secretary, Campaign For Free Education, Liz Kyte, Kent University Labour Club, Jane Caro, Student Broad Left, PO Box 263, Nottingham NG2 4GS.

### A Country Diary

**T**HE LAKE DISTRICT: The contractors were just finishing their long task of sealing up Kentmere reservoir so that it can safely replenish itself again when I passed the other day what has become an ugly waste of stones and mud on my way for another look at the source of the River Kent just below the 2,000ft contour on High Street. It should be realised that the drained reservoir could have become a permanent environmental disaster had it not been for the public spirited attitude of its present owners, James Cropper plc, the Burneside Paper-millers, whose chairman, Mr James Cropper, is the Lord Lieutenant of Cumbria. The water from the reservoir was no longer vital to the needs of the company and water authorities were not interested in its storage facilities, so there must have been a temptation to allow the site, empty because of serious leaks in the structure, to revert back to nature. But environmentalists and the outdoor public, well accustomed to and happy with the 150-year-old artificial

lake, pressed for the reservoir to be put back into use again, and this the company eventually agreed to do, inserting a plastic lining into the outflow pipe at a cost which has now reached £10,000. The reservoir will slowly refill, the speed dependent upon rainfall this autumn and winter, and some time next year it should be full again. All 210 million gallons of it — a reservoir that has become a disaster had it not been for the public spirited attitude of its present owners, James Cropper plc, the Burneside Paper-millers, whose chairman, Mr James Cropper, is the Lord Lieutenant of Cumbria. The water from the reservoir was no longer vital to the needs of the company and water authorities were not interested in its storage facilities, so there must have been a temptation to allow the site, empty because of serious leaks in the structure, to revert back to nature. But environmentalists and the outdoor public, well accustomed to and happy with the 150-year-old artificial

A HARRY GRIFFIN



Diary Matthew Norman

She would doubtless be the first to admit, boxing promoter Don King's generosity is without limit. While eating in a New York restaurant earlier this month, British promoter Frank Warren was surprised to note Mr King leap to his feet, shouting: "What happened to my Hummers? I gotta find out what happened to my Hummers!"

In the Daily Telegraph, topenforcer Boris the Jackal Johnson interviews £11 million lottery winner Karl Crompton, and begins by dwelling on Mr Crompton's weekend fall from his bike. "Nor," writes the Jackal, "that I would have wished him to suffer his dislocated collar bone, strained ligaments and so forth."

WITH the Liberal Democrats meeting next week in Brighton, an omission has been spotted in the conference timetable: there is no debate about transport. This is a curious omission, particularly in view of the Lib-Dems, the cyclist's friends, and the cynical might wonder whether this absence is a ploy to avoid a row over the Newbury bypass.

ONE subject the Lib-Dems have regretted debating in the past is drugs, so they will be delighted to get this year's controversy out of the way before conference begins. Writing in the New Statesman, comedian Mark Thomas recalls visiting Simon Hughes, an MP believed to have hopes of succeeding old Panto, at his home earlier this year for his TV series. Mr Thomas reports asking the Bermondsey MP if he has ever taken illegal drugs, and being told: "Yes... I was at a party and someone said 'do you want this?' and I said 'this' and they were fine."

IN British Columbia, a judge has jailed burglar Steven Quatier for six and a half months. Police arrested him earlier this month when, after he had broken into a house, Mr Quatier made the tactical error of tossing from his getaway car all the bras and panties he had stolen, thus leaving police an easy-to-follow trail. Dismissing the defendant's claim that it was "all a joke", the judge suggested he receive psychological help.



IF HE WAS A LIBERAL, HE'D HAVE SAID DAVID STEEL UP BY NOW.

Indecision is vital over Europe

Commentary Hugo Young

IN a speech of 50 paragraphs yesterday, Malcolm Rifkind devoted one to the single currency. Who told the papers and the BBC that this was the line that mattered is not clear. I doubt if it was the Foreign Office, in whose name rather than that of the Tory Party Rifkind went to Zurich 50 years after Churchill, in order to articulate in a wide-ranging and the EBC that this was the line that mattered is not clear. I doubt if it was the Foreign Office, in whose name rather than that of the Tory Party Rifkind went to Zurich 50 years after Churchill, in order to articulate in a wide-ranging and the EBC that this was the line that mattered is not clear.

France, with Germany alongside, is looking to accelerate the process. France has parliamentary elections in March 1997, and wants a ratifiable outcome from the inter-Governmental Conference, the so-called Maastricht II, well settled before then. There's talk of a draft treaty being on the table by December, for which hasty timetable both France and Germany are prepared to do pragmatic deals that throttle back integrationist ambitions. President Chirac has decided that hanging around in endless discussion may be futile and, for him, self-defeating.

After four election defeats in a row, no one, surely, can argue that Labour should not have taken stock. Every other major left-of-centre party is undergoing a similar process of change. Indeed, many now seek to emulate the British Labour Party. But, when we change, we are said to "dump" our past, or be trying to "out-Tory the Tories". Devolution, Clause 4, the trade unions, comprehensive education, tax 'n' spend, socialism itself. So: "we used to stand for something, now, having changed, we stand for nothing." That is the charge.

Clause 4, we changed. That was because it was a hopelessly out-of-date expression of values. Ninety per cent of the party membership approved the change, which actually allows us to say what we believe in in our constitution. On trade unions, no one is "bashin' 'em. But it is being made plain, as it must be, that Labour will govern for the whole country. We have evolved a constitution based on Omov, and the constituency delegates have a majority of votes at conference. What on earth is anti-trade unions about that? It has happened with the consent and support of the unions themselves. Let us get more ordinary trade unionists participating in how the party is run, as party members.

On comprehensive education, we remain committed to all-in schooling. But can the system ever be improved? Should we never look at ways in which we can take account of children's different abilities without returning to the 11-plus? Should we refuse to focus on standards in schools? Should we pretend that comprehensive education is incapable of improvement? We can improve without returning to the past. As for "tax 'n' spend", I can never understand why some in our ranks always want to let the Tories off lightly. They have put up taxes by 7p in the pound. Public-sector debt has

deserved. It expressed legitimate priorities, and a realistic attitude to flexibility. But Mr Rifkind, as the British Foreign Secretary, is not granted such an audience. What he has to say about anything European, and about the single currency in particular, automatically takes its place as the play of an ambitious man staking a position in the ceaseless Tory battle over Europe. This inability to be heard as a truth-teller, even when one may be telling the truth, is quite a serious handicap. It is one reason why the Conservatives are not safe to entrust with another mandate.

What is going on now, both in Europe and in Britain, is a kind of shell-game. It's a test of both nerve and tactics. At this moment, the manoeuvring is as much about timing as substance. For Rifkind and John Major in particular, time has become the essence. Here's a report from the front. France, with Germany alongside, is looking to accelerate the process. France has parliamentary elections in March 1997, and wants a ratifiable outcome from the inter-Governmental Conference, the so-called Maastricht II, well settled before then. There's talk of a draft treaty being on the table by December, for which hasty timetable both France and Germany are prepared to do pragmatic deals that throttle back integrationist ambitions.

Such a line will be easier to defend if, as it turns out, the Franco-German EMU is in fact delayed. That is what every pro-European British politician of every party is praying for. Recent stories out of Brussels, Bonn and Paris have pushed the acceleration scenario, but delay is not impossible. It could become attractive to EMU supporters who, above all, do not want it to fail. The Bundesbank may say yes, but France may say yes, but wait until the deficit is more attainable, and perhaps until more of the Mediterranean are nearer being ready.

IF this happens, the best guess is that it will happen late and for a period strictly limited to not more than 18 months. That will leave British leaders in a familiar predicament. Both before the election and after it they will be denouncing a position that is subtle, devious and temporising, against an onslaught of crude and atavistic populism which has so far shown little respect for the evidence that Europe takes but a modest place in the hierarchy of what matters to the voters.

To protect the national interest, Major and Blair will be obliged to make an uncomfortable but necessary case: that until they know where the 15 are going, they cannot tell what that interest is. This continues to be the nub of the Major-Clarke position. Arguing that the final decision still won't be made until fully a year after the British election, they regard any clear signal now as a pointless, destructive sacrifice. It would sacrifice British influence, which the Governor of the Bank already sniffs is slightly on the wane. It

would tell the markets the pound could be counted out of convergence. It would say, in real effect, that Britain was staying out not just for one year — but for many — but since this would not be acknowledged, no alternative strategy would be out forward. And it would produce seismic effects on the business wing of the Tory Party, whatever happened to Kenneth Clarke — which, in any case, would be quite a lot.

WHERE delay has been canvassed most vigorously is, of course, an EMU. Indecision is not only the Government's watchword but its necessary route to a semblance of party unity. Interested ministers categorically reject the phobes' assertion that the apparatus of EMU, and therefore the preliminary British decision to apply for entry, must be put through Parliament before the end of 1997. They set total store by the avoidance of that requirement and, equally, by resisting the demand that we should at least rule out entry in 1999 itself.

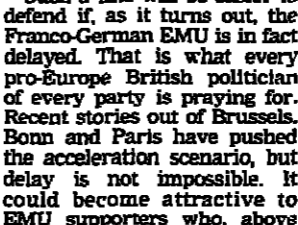
reminded of this, it is a reflection on the fact that we ever allowed ourselves to be painted into the opposite camp. But often as a result of the publicity given to "dumping", we miss the chance to tell people of the difference we would make to those in need in society: the 250,000 young people we are pledged to remove from the dole and put into work and education; getting rid of the wretched Tory internal market in the NHS; the six-point plan for the homeless, helped by a phased release of capital receipts; helping the poorest of the nation's pensioners; proper civil rights for the disabled. All this, quite apart from the decisions the Tories take in government that hurt the people, which we are powerless to stop.

The game of the rightwing and part of its press play with us has been the same all my political life; and part of the left always joins in. It is to say this: when Labour reaches out to new people or speaks ordinary common sense, it is "am." Now we are back as the mouthpiece of unpopular causes, it is its true self. I believe in defending unpopular causes when they are right. But I don't believe that it is our sole raison d'être, and I certainly don't believe that because we are electable, and winning new support, we are unprincipled.

It is easy as a Labour leader to say to the party: look, we've changed; we had to do so, to win. And I do believe change has been necessary to win. But I want to say something tougher than that: that it was right to change, right as a matter of principle. We are the party of the people, and we had drifted away from them. Now we are back as their party and that's the way it should stay. So new Labour is not "dumping" Labour's history. We are and should be proud of the achievements of governments of the past. New Labour simply recognises that the application of the values needs to be updated for today's world. That is not to decry the past, but it is to say we can and must find a different way forward.

That is the only route not just to electoral victory, but also to a better future for Britain. And that message has to go out to the whole of Britain. People ask, rather sniffily, why we spend time writing for and putting pieces in "tabloid" papers. Let me be blunt. The Guardian sells 400,000 to 500,000 copies a day. The Sun, Express and Mail around 6 million. The Mirror/Record just over 3 million. You don't need to be a genius in communications to realise that if we don't get the message beyond the Guardian, we don't get the message out at all. From time immemorial, radicals have had the best causes, but have always been their own worst enemies in fighting them. A gap opens up between the activists and the people. The Conservatives exploit it. Every change we have made in New Labour closes that gap. If we build a party that keeps it closed, then that is what will change British politics for good.

Real value of the £60m squiggles



Wally Olins

THE Sun chose to divide Tuesday's front page into three riveting sections: "Soccer star wears girl's headband shock"; "Lips Hurley — Liz unveils party new look"; and "BA blows £20 million on new logo". This third item got the most coverage and was subjected to the Sun's particular brand of righteous wrath. "British Airways chiefs are blowing £20 million on making tiny changes to their logo, while axing 10,000 workers to SAVE costs," wrote John Kay, the Sun hack assigned to the story. Although the piece drizzled on over two pages, the Sun never explained what "BA chiefs" thought they were getting for their £20 million except "a few squiggles".

As Richard Branson well knows, BA has as tough and ready a management as you will find anywhere; so what is doing apparently chucking its money down the drain for a squiggle or two? This story is in fact more or less identical to those which appear in the Sun and elsewhere whenever a major British company launches an identity change. BT, BP, ICI and other giants have all within the last few years been accused of wasting millions on a "squiggle". It is significant, perhaps, that these are amongst the most successful British companies on the world stage, that all are conspicuously well managed, and that the "funny squiggles" have coincided with strategic and structural change which has often led to dramatic improvements in service and profitability. For instance, BT's much-derided identity change — to the "prancing pouter" — coincided with massive increases in efficiency, far higher levels of customer service, lower prices and higher profits.

Can the Sun be mistaken? Is there quite literally more to these changes than meets the eye? Is the squiggle just the tip of the iceberg? Do these changes in visual identity signal other changes, in structure, strategy, marketing policy, corporate culture? Are these signals internally as well as externally directed? In other words, are they intended to remind people within the organisation to think and behave in a more responsive way? The answer to all these questions is yes they are, and yes they do. So what are these figures like £20 million actually spent on? The "squiggles" in the logo with which



Wally Olins

the Sun is so obsessed are only a tiny part of a much larger whole called corporate identity — a significant mainstream management discipline which helps the company to distinguish itself from the competition by looking, behaving and thinking in a unique way. It holds together parts of a company which may be widely dispersed, both geographically and by sector. Above all, corporate identity helps the company to re-invent itself in a time of constant change. Some corporate-identity consultancies are now quite large. They employ 100 or so people — graphic designers, of course (the people who draw the "squiggle"), but sometimes architects, interior designers, product designers as well as behavioural, communications and management consultants too. Corporate identity is now used by companies to beat the competition at a time when price, quality and service, the traditional factors on which competition was based, are increasingly converging. Take BA. BA is not simply British any more. It has interests in French, German, Australian and American airlines. It licenses other airlines to use its liveries. It employs people from over 100 countries. It needs a personality, a way of behaving and being that everybody in the organisation can understand, and in which they can share and that looks distinctive. In other words, it needs to project a global presence while being locally responsive.

BA has used the identity process to symbolise change and development internally and externally, and now, as it expands and mutates into a truly global corporation, it is doing it once again. BA doesn't spend money on things that don't work. It knows that corporate identity is a significant management resource. The cost of modifying or changing identity is really quite small. Identity consultants' fees, even for the biggest jobs, don't come to much more than £1 million or so. Much less than merchant bankers or management consultants get. Everything else that is spent — the fabled £20 million — relates to implementing the idea. Most of it is replacement cost. In fact, in relation to the benefits it brings, an identity programme costs peanuts. Orange was launched on the Stock Exchange a couple of months ago and valued at £2.5 billion. Most commentators agree that the bulk of that figure relates to the brand power deriving from its name and the visual manifestations of identity — not a bad exchange for a few million quid.

Wally Olins is chairman of Wolff Olins, the consultants who created the logo with which the BT and Orange identities

Tony Blair responds to his critics, notably in the Guardian, who he thinks have unfairly accused him of 'dumping' the historic principles and aspirations of the Labour Party

Tomorrow's socialism



doubled under John Major. The costs of unemployment have rocketed. £200 billion of oil and privatisation money has gone. Yet many of the low paid are paying marginal rates of tax of 70 or 80 per cent. Shouldn't we be trying to assist them? And shouldn't we be looking at ways we can cut unemployment, and switch resources, rather than to do, saying (whatever the level of tax, spending and borrowing under the Tories) we will make them higher? In making these changes, we are not ending the socialist ideal. On the contrary, we are giving it new life for today. My kind of socialism is a set of values, based around notions of social justice. It

remains. Socialism as a rigid form of economic determinism has ended, and rightly. The objective — a modern civic society in which all individuals have the ability to develop their potential — places us firmly within the traditions of social democracy and democratic socialism. These are parts of the common heritage with other radicals. We can celebrate that without losing our identity. These points are so simple that it is extraordinary they should generate the fuss they do. If there has been a lot of change, that is perhaps because a lot needed to change. Take the minimum wage. Instead of an unwieldy formula — that allowed our opponents to claim that it

would cost millions of jobs — we have a sensible means of setting a minimum wage in government according to the economic circumstances. As a result, we are finally making headway, even with employers, on the justice of the argument. Far from "dumping" the minimum wage, it is, in fact, the only serious way we will get one. In a business speech I gave on Monday, I said we wanted British firms to be highly profitable. This was provoking comment. What is incredible is that such sentiments should be thought anything other than common sense. Without a profitable enterprise sector to the British economy, we cannot be successful. If people need to be

I believe change has been necessary. But I want to say something tougher: it was right to change, right as a matter of principle

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10 OBITUARIES

Spiro Agnew

Even trickier than Dicky

SPIRO AGNEW, who has died aged 77, was the only American vice-president...

His lack of involvement really said more about the president's low regard for his running mate...

But, contrary to his later usage as a right-wing bruter, Spiro Theodore Agnew started his political career as a Republican liberal...

After a brief and unsuccessful study of chemistry at Baltimore's Johns Hopkins University...

'Agnew's a tough, shrewd Greek. He can't give a speech worth a damn, but he's not going to fall apart'

credentials by introducing the south's first open housing law...

Democrats in total disarray after President Johnson's withdrawal...

He had dickered briefly with Nelson Rockefeller and later with John Lindsay...

The announcement of Nixon's running mate stunned observers...

He suffered his peripheral roles in dignified silence and I found him highly intelligent...

A rather harsher judgment came from the Supreme Court Justice William O Douglas...



Double trouble... Agnew with Nixon at the 1968 Republican convention. Agnew, the surprise running-mate, took bribes for most of his career

time as "the media", which made them sound more conspiratorial.

He spoke of "a small group of men, numbering perhaps no more than a dozen...

In a burst of alliterative abuse - partly tongue-in-cheek according to one of his speechwriters...

campaign. But this respite proved brief. In April 1973, the White House learned that the US attorney...

His investigation remained unknown for four months until revealed by the Wall Street Journal...

suspended sentence. He retired to California to open an international trade consultancy. In later years, Agnew was to indicate...

Harold Jackson Spiro Theodore Agnew, lawyer and politician, born November 8, 1918; died September 17, 1996

Nicholas Wahl

Outsider in France's inner circle

NICK WAHL, who has died aged 68, was a legendary, and rare, foreign insider in French politics...

His subject was the tension and rivalry that developed in wartime between De Gaulle's Free French in exile and the resistance movement in France...

After De Gaulle came to power in 1958, Wahl found

himself on the inside track. The principal draftsman of the new constitution would take long country drives, supposedly unobserved...

But all this time he was pursuing an academic career in the United States, moving from Harvard to a chair at Princeton in 1964...



The General's men... Professor Wahl (left) with Jacques Chirac

in the political life of the three countries were invited - or rather, it seemed to me, summoned.

For more than 20 years, Wahl and his friend Philip Williams of Nuffield (Gaitskill's biographer) would make one or two two-week interweaving raids together through the French political elite...

But if he was the prince of friendly insiders, there was perhaps a price to be paid. Williams wrote two major books on the Fourth and Fifth

Republics while Wahl never produced either the long-awaited major biography of Charles de Gaulle...

However, he was to put all his connections and charm to extraordinarily good academic

use when he became director of the Institute of French Studies at New York University in 1978...

France was studied as a whole - economics, politics, history and literature; and he turned it into a major meeting place for distinguished French visitors and American politicians...

When he died, he was a professor in France and a member of the Legion of Honour and a Commander of the National Order of Merit...

professor in France and became a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and a Commander of the National Order of Merit. His Gaullist connections were from opportunity, curiosity and empathy...

During the Carter presidency, Nick was a consultant to the State Department and the National Security Council. But it is fair to say that his decidedly European good manners, charm, irony and sang-froid did not always click with the slightly coarser, careerist and humourless atmosphere of Washington and New York politics.

His first marriage was dissolved, but his second, in 1988 to Charlotte Johnson, the English painter, was close and happy, and it led him to spend more and more time in London amid her family and friends. He died - perhaps emblematically in a room in St Thomas's directly overlooking the Palace of Westminster - after a long and stoical battle against cancer.

Bernard Crick Anthony Nicholas Maria Wahl, historian, born June 7, 1928; died September 13, 1996

Birthdays

Kate Adie, television journalist, 51; Louise Bortling, broadcaster, financial consultant, 57; Rosemary Casals, former tennis player, 48; Judith Church, Labour MP, 44; Justin Dukes, chief executive, European Communications Industries Consortium, 55; Michael Elphick, actor, 50; Jim Fox, pentathlon winner, 55; Sidonie Goossens, harpist, 96; Rosemary Harris, actress, 88; Simon Hemans, High Commissioner to Kenya, 56; Richard Gray, director, Manchester City Art Galleries, 48; Jeremy Irons, actor, 48; Tanith Lee, writer, 49; David McCallum, actor, 63; Austin Mitchell, Labour MP, 52; Penelope Mortimer,

novelist, 78; Pete Murray, broadcaster, 98; Derek Nimmo, actor, 64; Dr Harold Plenderleith, antiquarian and scientist, 98; Prof Ferry Porsche, car designer, 87; Zandra Rhodes, fashion designer, 56; Dr George Richardson, former warden, Keble College, Oxford, 72; The Duke of Richmond and Gordon, Chancellor, Sussex University, 67; Eida Elpley, director, WomenAid, 58; Bridget Rosewell, economist, 48; David Seaman, footballer, 33; Marc Surer, racing driver, 45; Twiggy (Lesley Hornby), model and actress, 47; Prof Christopher White, authority on fine art, 66; Paul Williams, composer and lyricist, 66.

Death Notices

ALLEN, On September 7th, suddenly, Stephen (Steve) of Clebury Mortimer, aged 64. Funeral at St Mary's Church, Clebury, Mortimer, Tuesday, September 24th, 10.00am. Family flowers Donations for British Heart Foundation. Donations and requests to P J Burton, FID's, tel Clebury Mortimer 01763 73420.

PHILLIPS, Peter Gordon, of Imperial Drive, North Harrow. Passed away on the 17th September 1996 at St. Andrew's, Harrow. Funeral service to take place on Friday 20th September 1996 at St. George's Church, Pinner, Harrow, at 10.00 am. Cremated at Brookwood Crematorium at 1.00 pm. All enquiries to James & Sons Ltd Tel No 0181 743 4312.

MACLEAN Elizabeth Nancy of Church College, Cambridge died aged 84 in Winery Hospital on September 16th 1996. She was formerly Headmistress of the Queens School, Chester 1947-1973. Private cremation followed by Thanksgiving Service at Laurence Church, Combe Longa on Monday 19th September at 2.00pm. Friends of Winery Hospital.

In Memoriam

CLARE, Arthur Victor, to pay tribute to Councilor Arthur former Lord Mayor of Norwich at Blackfriars Hall, Norwich on 22nd September at 3.00pm.

PLOWMAN STREETEN, Billy Edwin, 5 July 1903 - 18 September 1996. Billy boy, Billy boy, playing in his part. Billy boy, Billy boy, with his home of Plover. Billy boy, Billy boy.

Question: How come the Diet Coke is frequently colder than the refrigerator? Answer: The refrigerator temperature is not uniform. It is below freezing up by the coils at the top of the compartment, and warm by the gap in the door seal where the wires enter the refrigerator. Tub status as of Wed September 18 11.33 1996: Paul's hot tub is a bit warm at about 104 degrees Fahrenheit. It is nice outside at about 69 degrees Fahrenheit. The ozone generator is not on. The cover is closed.

Jackdaw wants jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-713 4366; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Emily Sheffield

Jackdaw



FAQs

SHOPPING - Does your dog regularly suffer from any of the following? Loose bowels, wind, skin irritation. How do you purchase your plants, bulbs, roses, shrubs and seeds? Which one cigar brand is smoked most often? Leisure - Do you belong to a golf club? Do you own a horse? Have you ever or do you currently play the following? Littlewoods Pools, Vernons Pools, National Lottery. Do you read romantic fiction? Health - If anyone in your

household is affected by thrush, which of the following treatments is used? Castenot or Diltican? Barclays Bank would like to send information to your children about teenage bank accounts. Please sign below if you have no objections. Your home - What is your approximate mobile phone bill per month? If you are connected, what is your e-mail address? Some of the more bizarre questions that the Consumer Research Bureau survey asks you to puzzle over (if you ever bother to read it).

Universal Qs

DOUGLAS Adams "There is a theory which states that if ever anybody discovers exactly what the Universe is for and why it is here, it will instantly disappear and be replaced by something even more bizarre and inexplicable. There is another theory which states that this has already happened." Albert Einstein "Only two things are infinite, the universe and human stupidity, and I'm not sure about the former."

Richard Cook "Programming thrush is a race between software engineers striving to build bigger and better idiot-proof programs, and the Universe trying to produce bigger and better idiots. So far, the Universe is winning." Edward P. Tryon "In answer to the question of why it happened, I offer the modest proposal that our Universe is simply one of those things which happen from time to time." Max Frisch "Technology is a way of organizing the universe so that man doesn't have to experience it." Woody Allen "I'm astounded by people who want to 'know' the universe when it's hard enough to find your way around Chinatown."

Fred Hoyle "There is a coherent plan in the universe, though I don't know what it's a plan for." Christopher Morley "My theology, briefly, is that the universe was dictated but not signed." Calvin and Hobbes (Bill Waterson) "The surest sign that intelligent life exists elsewhere in the universe is that there has never tried to contact us."

The age-old question of the universe elucidated for us. From the listener, mish mash.

Simple jobber

HOW MANY readers of Anthony Burgess's novel A Clockwork Orange, or viewers of Stanley Kubrick's film, knew that Burgess took the title from an allegedly common but never actually used British simile, "queer as a clockwork orange"? Can anyone recall the meaning of the terms "Koyanishgatsi" and "Powaqatsi"? And were there any secrets encrypted in Lucy in the Sky With Diamonds, or was it just a song about a flying girl with a necklace? Nowadays, dreary old comprehensibility is still very much around. A film about a boy-man called Jack is called Jack. A film about a crazed baseball fan is called The Fan. The film version of Jane Austen's Emma is called Emma.

However, titular mystification continues to intensify. When Oasis, the British pop phenoms, sing "You're my Wonderwall," what can they mean? "I intend to ride over

you on my motorbike, round and round, at very high speed." Surely not. And Bladerunner? Yes, I know that hunters of android "repllicants" are called "bladerunners" - but why? And yes, yes, William S. Burroughs (again) used the phrase in the title of a 1973 novel; and, to get really arcane, there's a 1974 medical thriller called The Bladerunner, by the late Dr Alan E Nourse. But what does any of this have to do with Ridley Scott's movie? Harrison Ford runs not, neither does his blade. Shouldn't a work of art give us the keys with which to unlock it's meaning? But perhaps it's just the phrase that sounds cool, thanks to those echoes of Burroughs, Darryl odd himself.

In 1928, Luis Bunuel and Salvador Dali co-directed the surrealist classic Un Chien Andalou, a film about many things. So it is with Quentin Tarantino's first film, Reservoir Dogs. No reservoir, no dogs, no use of the words "reservoir", "dogs", or "reservoir dogs" at any point in the

movie. No imagery derived from dogs or reservoir dogs or dogs in reservoirs or reservoir dogs. Nada, or, as Mr Pink and co. would say, "Fuckin' nada."

But these days the thing about incomprehensibility is that people aren't supposed to get it. In accordance with the new Zeitgeist, therefore, the title of the piece has in part been selected - "sampled" - from Lou Reed's wise advice,



New Yorker: Reservoir Frogs

مكزمان التحصيل

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Financial Editor: Alex Brummer  
Telephone: 0171-239-9610  
Fax: 0171-833-4456

# Finance Guardian

## Morgan sacks Peter Young

### Fund manager dismissed as Imro inquiry gets underway

Richard Miles

**P**ETER YOUNG, the fund manager at the centre of an investigation by City watchdog Imro into irregularities at Morgan Grenfell Asset Management, has been sacked for "gross misconduct", the investment bank said yesterday.

High flier Mr Young was suspended two weeks ago and his personal assets frozen after Morgan Grenfell halted dealings in three European investment funds, leaving 90,000 investors in limbo for 72 hours.

A spokesman for the investment bank declined to elaborate on the reasons for Mr Young's dismissal, but the term "gross misconduct" covers a broad spread of offences, including fraud. Mr Young's lawyers, Peters & Peters, have consistently denied any fraud on his part.

Morgan Grenfell said it does not plan any further legal action against Mr Young "at this stage", but it is understood that the bank is waiting to see whether the Serious Fraud Office launches an investigation before going to the courts for a second time. An SFO decision is expected within a fortnight.

Mr Young, aged 38, was unavailable for comment at his £450,000 home in Amersham last night. He told newspapers last week that Morgan Grenfell had made him a scapegoat.

Imro said that Mr Young's dismissal would not affect its investigation into the three stricken funds, which at their peak attracted £1.4 billion, "because as a registered individual he is still bound by



Denying offences... Peter Young with his wife Harmanna and children George, 3, and Henry, 2, at their Amersham home

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN HATTON

Imro rules". It added that Mr Young could not work elsewhere in a similar capacity without its approval.

Mr Young, recruited to Morgan Grenfell from Mercury Asset Management four years ago, ran two of the funds under investigation, the £788 million European Growth unit trust and the £344 million offshore Euro-

pean Capital Growth Fund. Described as "seriously strange" by former colleagues and friends, Mr Young had a passion for small high-technology companies, particularly in Scandinavia. In May over 35 per cent of the funds' portfolio was invested in highly illiquid, unquoted stocks, even though Imro imposes a ceiling of 10 per cent.

Mr Young set up a secretive web of Luxembourg-registered holding companies to channel money into such Scandinavian firms, breaking a second Imro rule which bars funds from holding any more than 10 per cent of single company.

Imro, which will spend the next few months trying to untangle this web of holding

companies, yesterday dropped accountants Deloitte & Touche from its team of investigators in favour of Arthur Andersen after discovering a "potential conflict of interest" at Deloitte's Luxembourg arm.

The City watchdog also said it had launched an investigation into 100 other unit trusts holding unquoted stocks to es-

tablish that sufficient controls are in place. Thousands of investors pulled out of the stricken Morgan Grenfell funds when dealing resumed a week ago, but redemptions levelled out at £200 million after the German parent Deutsche Bank pumped £180 million in cash into the trusts and pledged to buy unwanted assets.

### Notebook

## Time to cut the Old Lady loose



Edited by Alex Brummer

**I**MAGINE for a moment that the United Kingdom — like the US, Germany and now France — had an independent central bank. If that were the case there is no doubt, election timetable permitting, that it would have moved by now to raise base rates by at least one-quarter of a point to 6 per cent.

The probability that the authorities would miss their inflation target down the road without a monetary tightening was evident when the Governor Eddie George met the Chancellor in July. If that was the case then, the fresh evidence provided by the latest retail sales and the narrow money figures for August would make it inevitable.

But despite the more open monetary framework, put in place after the Conservative ERM debacle in the autumn of 1992, the Bank of England's authority over monetary policy is still exercised at the Chancellor's discretion. The Bank can weigh up the economic and financial probabilities as much as it likes, but in the end the Chancellor's instinct is what counts.

Certainly, in terms of producing the pre-election boomlet which John Major needs, Mr Clarke's decision to ignore the advice on Threadneedle Street is working. The year-on-year 4.4 per cent increase in retail sales, together with a bucket of anecdotal evidence from sports car sales to record results from John Lewis, signal unequivocally that the feel-good era is returning. With the Stock Exchange holding its Big Bang celebration bash next week, it may start to feel just like late 1980s all over again.

There is no immediate danger, of course, that inflation is about to spill out of control. Although as the output gap closes, asset prices climb public sector pay is pushed up and oil prices begin to bubble there will be no shortage of forward danger signals. Thus every quarter-point base rate rise now, may save a far bigger one after the election.

Mr Clarke keeps his courage, then the penalty for a successor government could well be having to raise interest rates a full point or more in its first week in office: before moving on to the higher taxes needed to resolve the fiscal deficit.

But there is an opportunity for Tony Blair and Gordon Brown in this scenario. If they really want to convince the international financiers and the City that they are more serious about low inflation and prudent economics than the incumbents, they should pledge to create an independent Bank of England, with discretion to move interest rates on its own, rather than the Government's timetable, now New Labour's current, unformed ideas on creat-

ing a monetary council do not go far enough.

### Mersey booster

**F**ORD's lament — as it has been challenged by Japanese producers — has always been that it is saddled with old-fashioned and inherently inefficient plants. The Japanese were said to have an advantage with ultra-modern plants, plant single-unit deals and handpicked workforces.

For Halewood this translated into a constant rumour over its future. On countless occasions Ford was said to be toying with the politically unpalatable proposal of shutting Halewood and relying on sister plants to produce the Escort. Ford had to re-educate itself and its workforce in new working practices even as it pushed through a savage programme of rationalisation with nearly 50,000 UK jobs going in the 1980s.

The process has not been smooth, but Ford's plants appear transformed. Management and unions have achieved something close to unity on the need to boost productivity and quality. But there is a limit to what can be achieved by Ford on its own. For its next big leap forward, the company is looking to leverage expertise in outside suppliers.

Ford and its US rival GM have been starstruck by "big ideas" before. At Ford, it was buying components from just one supplier — until strike threats proved such outsourcing wise.

The danger with outsourcing is that it will prove to be another corporate fad with few long-term benefits. But it does appear to have real logic for Halewood, allowing the plant to share the costs of new technology and the benefits of manufacturing techniques with a select band of suppliers secured by long-term contracts — much as the Japanese makers do.

The potential for Merseyside is immense. It could prove to be the long-sought breakthrough that the region — now bolstered by priority EU development status — needs to rival Scotland, Wales and the north-east in attracting inward investors.

### Lone nuts

**G**IVEN the £200 million hole punctured in the Morgan Grenfell (MGM) and the anguish caused to some 90,000 investors in the three affected European trusts, it is not surprising that Peter Young has been summarily dismissed for "gross misconduct". What would be unfor-

gettable, however, is if DMG believes that matters should end there. As was the case at Barings, the City is only too easily wooed by the "lone nut" theory because it is always that much tidier for the authorities. But while Mr Young may have been responsible for the loss-making decisions, those he reported to and those responsible for ensuring compliance with the rulebook must also be regarded as culpable.

## Olivetti shares rebound as shake-out at top confirmed

John Glover in Milan

**F**RANCESCO Caio, managing director of Olivetti, the troubled Italian office equipment and computer giant, resigned last night at an emergency board meeting after less than three months in the job. Early reports suggested that other board members had also tendered their resignation.

A statement from Olivetti named Mr Caio's successor as Roberto Colaninno, managing director of Sogefi, an auto components company controlled by ex-Olivetti chairman Carlo De Benedetti.

Italian observers suggested last night that the move represented a new effort by Mr De Benedetti to regain control of the company he headed for

18 years until he was ousted in a boardroom coup two weeks ago. He speaks for 14 per cent of Olivetti stock through his CIR holding company which also owns Sogefi.

During the day, shares in Olivetti soared on speculation of the move. The stock, after falling 19 per cent in the first two days of the week, rose 10 per cent to 510 lire yesterday — the first time its shares had risen in over a week.

The shake-up at the top of Olivetti was expected to extend to other members of the board of the loss-making company, including Antonio Tesone, who became chairman on September 3.

Mr Caio was placed under judicial investigation on Monday, then on Tuesday it emerged that three other senior executives — includ-

ing Mr De Benedetti and Mr Tesone — had been targeted in the same inquiry. The judges' investigation, like another being conducted by Consob, the bourse watchdog, centres around suspicions that figures published in the company's interim report were misleading.

The uncertainty surrounding Olivetti's financial position sparked the wave of selling which over the past fortnight has rocked the company, wiping more than a third off its stock market value. However, buy orders from abroad have led to rising speculation that a creeping takeover may be taking place.

Milan sources noted that at current prices, shares in Olivetti are worth less than the value of its stake in Omnitel-

Pronto Italia, the holder of Italy's second GSM mobile phone licence.

Yesterday, Olivetti's shares maintained their reputation for stomach-churning volatility. Trading was blocked five times as the rise in the share price continually exceeded technical limits on price variations. This was in contrast to earlier sessions, when trading was suspended for excessive falls in the price.

Analysts said that Olivetti's partial clarification of the figures contained in its interim report had calmed some of the fears over the company's financial position.

The clarification was published yesterday morning after Consob had taken the unusual step of giving the company a 24-hour ultimatum to do so.

## Granada ups its YTTV stake as rule change nears

Lisa Buckingham

**T**HE race for supremacy in Britain's terrestrial television network quickened yesterday when Granada confirmed it had raised its shareholding in Yorkshire-Tyne Tees.

The move follows speculation that rival Carlton is contemplating a takeover bid for HTV, the Welsh and West Country broadcaster.

It also coincides with predictions from Ulster TV, which yesterday reported a 27 per cent rise in profits to \$4.67 million, that the fortunes of ITV companies will improve significantly in 1997.

Shares in YTTV rose by another 6p to 1155p, even though Granada's chief executive, Charles Allen, said it was still weighing up its options before a full bid for its neighbouring station.

Granada, which said yesterday it is seeking to sell more assets after its £2.9 billion acquisition of Forte, spent £50 million in February to lift its stake by nearly 10 per cent to 24 per cent. The outlay anticipated an easing in the Government's broadcasting regulations.

The company has sought to reduce speculative interest in YTTV's shares, by hinting that it may walk away from a full bid. But few in the industry are prepared to accept that Granada will rest with less than total control. Carlton TV, which owns the London weekday station as well as Central TV, is also understood to be attempting expansion through the acquisition of HTV, once broadcast ownership restrictions are lifted, probably in early November.

That will mean the replacement of rules which impose an ownership ceiling of two regional ITV franchises with a requirement that media groups should not control more than 15 per cent of the national audience.

Observers predict that the commercial terrestrial network will soon be dominated by Granada, Carlton and United News, whose TV interests include Meridian, Anglia and a near 15 per cent stake in Yorkshire.

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## PDFM sticks to forecast that market set to fall

Richard Miles

**P**DFM, one of the UK's biggest pension managers, has defended its decision — reported in yesterday's Guardian — to hold £10 billion of clients' assets in cash, forecasting an stockmarket crash to rival the 1987 slump when billions were wiped off shares.

The company, formerly known as Phillips & Drew Fund Management, denied it was taking a huge gamble with its customers' money, claiming that all the warning signals that would indicate trouble ahead are present in the market.

In a statement, PDFM, which manages £50 billion on behalf of company pension schemes, said: "We have every confidence in our current stance, which will be maintained. PDFM's approach is designed to provide sensible long-term investments for our clients."

Since early last year, PDFM has kept 15 per cent of the assets under its management in cash or securities that could easily be turned into cash. But critics say PDFM has missed out on one of the biggest stockmarket rallies in recent years.

## Fat controller faces £1.5m worth of 'warm, fluffy' characters

Andrew Cuff  
Media Correspondent

**T**HOMAS the Tank Engine is about to get some new friends. The animation group Britt Allcroft has signed a £1.5 million deal to develop a new range of children's characters aimed at the worldwide television market.

The partnership with VCI, Britain's largest independent video and publishing group, will allow it to promote the new characters through merchandising, books and audio CD.

Britt Allcroft's television version of Thomas the Tank Engine helped it make a pre-tax profit of £2 million last year. It has also successfully developed Muffie, a little pink elephant.

A new joint venture production company, Moonbeam Limited, will be established under the deal.

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## SBC to axe 1,700 and close branches in bid to lift profits

Sarah Whitebloom

**S**WISS Bank Corporation yesterday unveiled radical plans to axe 1,700 jobs and close a quarter of its Swiss branches in a bid to boost flagging profits.

It is also to take extraordinary charges of SF3.3 billion (£1.7 billion) to provide a cushion against potential future losses on loans.

SBC, Switzerland's third largest bank, has been hit by recessionary pressures along with the rest of the previously unassailable Swiss banking sector.

Its move comes as rising credit risk provisions have eaten into profits from investment banking which is centred in London and Chicago. It bought City investment bank SG Warburg for \$1.3 billion last year.

"All three Swiss banks are making similar moves," said Patrick Carisch, who manages \$500 million at Swiss Volksbank. The SBC move, which will result in three banking centres in Basel, Geneva and Zurich instead of the current 15 and the closure of 80 branches, is the second shake-up in four months after the splitting of its global business into four groups.

It follows similar action taken by CS (Credit Suisse) Holding, which is axing 5,000 jobs worldwide, and Union Bank of Switzerland (UBS). SBC said that its move will plunge the institution into a "one-time technical loss" of SF1.9 billion for the current year. Group net profit is expected to be SF1.4 billion, before the extraordinary charges are made. Its extraordinary charges, however, result from its setting up of a SF2.4 billion reserve to "absorb volatility" in annual provisioning.

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 1.9120	France 7.74	Italy 2.328	Singapore 2.1425
Austria 16.05	Germany 2.2835	Malta 0.5440	South Africa 6.78
Belgium 45.82	Greece 365.03	Netherlands 2.5835	Spain 192.03
Canada 2.0820	Hong Kong 11.72	New Zealand 2.16	Sweden 10.16
Cyprus 0.7010	India 65.51	Norway 9.8230	Switzerland 1.8675
Denmark 8.8240	Ireland 0.9385	Portugal 234.00	Turkey 134.816
Finland 7.02	Israel 4.92	Saudi Arabia 5.80	USA 1.5215

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli sheqel).

Management ready to back investment at Halewood on condition outside suppliers take over parts production



# Price of a new Ford Escort: dole for 1,000

Chris Barrie  
Business Correspondent

UP TO 1,000 jobs are to be axed at Ford's Halewood car plant on Merseyside as the price of investment to build the next version of the Escort.

In a move that would affect close to a quarter of the workforce in the car body and assembly plant, Ford wants to replace in-house production with outside suppliers in the manufacture and assembly of components to cut costs and boost productivity.

The company is trying to persuade component companies to set up factories nearby, on a new industrial park to supply Halewood. Local aid agencies are backing the creation of the park as a way of creating hundreds of new jobs and revitalising the hard-hit region.

**Talking of the creation of a 'wrap-around factory', one executive said: 'The multiplier effect in terms of jobs could be huge.' Similar plans for an industrial park are being considered for Dagenham**

Although trade unions and the company were tight-lipped yesterday, Ford is understood to have held extensive talks with unions in an attempt to secure their agreement. The Merseyside factory makes 800 cars a day and employs 4,500 people; a further 1,300 in a gearbox factory are unaffected.

Some trade unionists are thought to favour the plan as a means of securing the plant's long term future, providing Ford tries to persuade suppliers to take on the ousted workers.

The unions will also seek a guarantee that there will be no compulsory redundancies and expect the outsourcing to be phased in rather than introduced abruptly. No agreement has been reached.

In the 1980s Halewood suffered from a reputation for poor quality and productivity. Faced with closure threats, local management and the workforce have worked hard to improve competitiveness.

Although the plant is not among Ford's best performing European factories, quality has risen sharply and senior management is understood to be ready to back its long-term future, providing the outsourcing goes ahead.



The way it was... Corsairs roll off the production line in the 1960s (left) but Halewood has also frequently been the site of industrial dispute as shown by dissenting workers leaving a mass meeting above

commitment to Halewood has not been given.

Outsourcing of the type planned for Halewood is already in place at Saarlouis and Valencia. By using outside suppliers to make and assemble sub-assemblies — which are then sent to the Ford factory as and when they are needed — the company will hope to cut its costs and use its suppliers' expertise. The technique is already

used by Japanese car manufacturers. Local inward investment agencies are thought to have prepared marketing plans and aid packages to persuade component companies to set up on Merseyside. Such firms would be eligible for state aid providing certain criteria, including job creation, are met.

Although Ford has started preparations for making the new Escort at Halewood, and

told suppliers that they must be ready to move to the industrial park, the company may withhold a final decision on the investment until it has secured aid agreement in principle from the Government.

To secure that aid the company must be able to tell the Government that the investment would be placed elsewhere unless funds are given. Ford's decision will also depend on the markets in which

Halewood's cars will be sold. This year the factory has suffered bouts of downtime due to slack demand. If the new cars were forecast to sell more strongly, then Halewood would be more economic to run — and Ford's US management in Dearborn more likely to back the idea.

Ford declined to comment last night, but an announcement about the Escort is likely in the next three months.

# Roller coaster ride for Mersey plant

Simon Beavis

FOR a plant which started its life with such promise, Halewood has had to spend a great deal of its 33-year existence overshadowed by uncertainty.

Sited on a plot of Merseyside land, bought in 1969 when Ford was refused permission to expand its East London Dagenham plant, the Halewood plant was finally completed in 1983.

At the time, Ford was plotting its future European strategy. It was determined to back its growing market position in the UK with an expanded presence. But it was equally careful not to loosen its foothold in continental Europe when Britain remained decidedly sceptical about the future of European Community.

As Halewood was being put together in the Northwest, Ford was also building a new plant at Genk in Belgium. The US group now has 12 key manufacturing sites in Europe producing nearly 1.5 million cars a year.

But Halewood and its southern cousin at Dagenham have always been lumped together in Ford demography as epitomising all that is wrong with UK car production.

Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s Ford was struggling to meet the challenge of Japanese carmakers setting up shop in its British backyard. It launched a massive series of job-cuts which reduced the UK workforce by nearly 50,000. The process continued into the early 1990s which saw Ford of Britain plunge to three years of devastating losses.

In fact, Halewood's performance has now been transformed, although it has remained heavily dependent on the UK car market since little production has ever been exported.

# Market worries over what's in store for Next

Outlook/ Shares fall despite retailer's progress, writes Pauline Springett

NEXT's profits were slightly above expectations. Nevertheless the shares fell, thanks to a combination of factors. Analysts were disappointed with the rise in sales compared to last year and there had been widespread anticipation that the company might pull out a spectacular set of results.

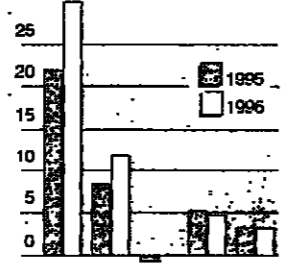
Next

Stock market value: £2.14 bn

Share price: 573 1/2p ▼ 26 1/2p

3 YEAR	% change
Sales	405.4m +22
Pre-tax profit	56m +12
Earnings share	18.5p +8
Dividends share	8.0p +33

Operating profit £m



Which is not to say that Next has underperformed. Yesterday's half-year results showed that the fashion chain is chugging along nicely. The big question mark is over its future — where does the real growth come from, given that it operates in a highly competitive UK market and its overseas operations have yet to set the world ablaze?

Yesterday's results showed that the sales and profits of all Next's main activities have increased over the past six months. The company also seems to have a knack of positioning itself well within the competitive marketplace of high street women's fashion wear. Next scores in this cut-throat market because it is well focused. It knows its customers and does not confuse them with too many options.

As chief executive David Jones said: "We are not a fashion follower. Next customers wanted clothes which were in good taste and would last more than one season."

and turnover has doubled in the past two years. But the interiors business takes up a lot of space in the shops and is only sold in 60 plus of Next's 306 high street stores.

Next Directory is also showing promising signs, with sales up 23 per cent and operating profit up by 42 per cent. The company has just launched an advertising campaign to boost this side of its operations.

Outside UK, the franchised operation appears to be going well, with stores operating in Europe, the Middle East, the Far East and Japan. Next now has 20 franchised stores and is planning to open a further 10 stores shortly.

The French store, which has been open a year, is doing badly and if things do not pick up it could be closed. In the US a disappointing start is being viewed with greater equanimity — a revamp is already underway. In the long run Next may well use some of its comfortable cash pile to expand here. But the City should not hold its breath, any US foray will be slow.

# BA to shed 5,000 jobs to hone competitive edge

Check-in could be sold off — but 'a lot of money' will cushion blow

Keith Harper  
Transport Editor

BRITISH Airways was last night preparing to contract out engineering, baggage handling and check-in work in a "second transformation" which will mean 5,000 job cuts in the next 18 months.

BA chief executive Bob Ayling said he hoped that most of the job losses will be achieved by early retirement or by staff leaving voluntarily. To soften the blow, BA will offer "a lot of money" to those who want to go, but cannot take out compulsory redundancies.

Most of the jobs will disappear at BA's largest employment centres at Gatwick and Heathrow — in engineering, refuelling, baggage handling and check-in which could be sold off to outside firms. But it will come at a cost, as it will mean a quarter of our staff and expects that within three years that its numbers will be back to 55,000, the total employed at present.

Mr Ayling's announcement is part of the "Step Change" strategy which he has adopted since taking over in January. After achieving record profits of £385 million, he made it clear that BA had to make £1 billion worth of savings over the next three years. If the proposed alliance with American Airlines is approved, it is likely to lead to extra jobs.

The unions, who were not officially informed of the job losses until last night, expressed "deep concern". Sean Keating, national officer of the GMB general union, said it would press BA to make sure that the redundancies were voluntary.

"BA is an extremely profitable and successful company, and we will do our best to see that change is by consent," Mr Keating ruled out strike action at this stage.

Staff fear the job losses and contracting-out, due to begin in November, could lead to a decline in quality and affect the company's good reputation.



Facing greater market challenges... Bob Ayling

Mr Ayling, however, believes that BA still bears some of the trappings of the nationalised industry it was up to 10 years ago, and that it is not as efficient or as competitive as it should be.

He said yesterday that while it had nourished as a private company, it had to face up to greater challenges from the market. "Our customers expect more, but our cost of providing a seat has

risen faster than the price customers pay in a highly competitive marketplace."

Mr Ayling did not expect wholesale job changes and looked forward to employing new recruits, skilled in customer service and languages. A "strategy of investment and improved profitability" meant that "some jobs will go, some will be outsourced and some will be relocated. We will grow and improve."

In some cases, employees may be redeployed, retrained or offered jobs with new contractors.

Areas for efficiency savings have been identified. British Airways Engineering has been restructured as a separate business and the company has not ruled out allowing outside investors to take stakes in it.

BA said it will work with employees to ensure that cargo handling and passenger revenue accounting are carried out at external market prices.

New interactive flight entertainment is expected to produce substantial revenue and the airline's franchise business, built up from nothing to generate £50 million in fees, will be doubled.

# Fast train to Gatwick may ease Heathrow snarl-ups

PLANS to open a 75-minute rail link between Heathrow and Gatwick are to be submitted to the Terminal 5 inquiry by BAA as part of the airport operator's aim to shift 50 per cent of Heathrow's passengers on to public transport, writes Keith Harper.

The route, via central London, will be made possible by the £350 million Heathrow Express line to Paddington due for completion within two years. It is one of six options BAA is considering with the private sector to make further use of the line and its 16 minute journey time.

The other plans are for a train-an-hour service from Manchester and Birmingham, which would mean building a spur off the West Coast main line, and a regular link to the south-west of Heathrow, bringing the prospect of direct services from Reading and Waterloo.

Michael Maine, BAA's technical director, said yesterday: "Given our huge spending on airport infrastructure, we are doing everything possible to encourage public transport into Heathrow. This will not only benefit travellers to the airport, but also London and the South-east."

Railtrack is working with BAA and potential operators on track improvements. This would require private capital and a more progressive attitude to investment than has been shown in the industry in recent years.

BAA also announced that motorists at Heathrow are to face an extra 25p charge for not using public transport. The £1.25 million a year expected to be raised will be spent on improving rail, coach and bus connections.

The new parking fee will affect the airport's 18,000 parking spaces for visitors, while private owners of another 10,000 spaces are also likely to be asked to join the scheme. Motorists already pay between £13.80 and £30 a day.

The AA said: "It is all very well for BAA to talk about public transport, but it is often inconvenient for people, especially if they have children or lots of luggage."

# Underside

Dan Atkinson

SOCIALIST peer Lord Hollick — boss of *Inter alia*, the Express newspaper group — made some colleagues here feel deeply unloved last Friday when he launched a quarter-hour telephone rant suggesting our coverage of his results the previous day failed to achieve the high standards of accuracy long associated with the Express titles. We need not have fretted. Doyen of the media writers, the Financial Times's Ray Snoddy, was treated to a similar barrage. Meanwhile, we hear, Lord Hollick's "partner", United's chairman Lord Stevens, continues to be "consulted". Pip pip, old boy.

THE Chancellor was guest of honour at the 10th birthday on Monday of London Economics, the forecasting outfit that boasts former Downing Street personage Sarah Hogg among its brainboxes.

Three Pints entertained the boffins with a jolly *tour d'horizon* of anniversaries and birthdays in general. Strangely enough, given he was speaking on September 18, there was one birthday he failed to mention: the fourth anniversary of White Wednesday. Must have slipped his mind.

COVENT Garden PR man Victor Trocki's best-known client — two-year-old "race" horse Easycall — redeemed himself after his three-legged



performance at York in August with a 5-1 win at Doncaster on Saturday. Victor ("if it moves, publicise it") had little time to count his winnings, however. Tuesday night saw him masterminding the opening of Le Bidule in Chalk Farm, an eatery specialising in French/South American food. Given that France's only known foothold in Latin America is French Guyana, the ace rocket base with a rather nice colony attached, perhaps Le Bidule ought to be renamed Cuisine Ariane.

And then on to Victor's next client, a doorknob. Or rather, the "state of the art door decor" produced by ironmonger Charles Collinge: "you can't just call them doorknobs" enthuses the ultimate PR man. No, quite. Don't ever change.

BACK to birthdays: next Wednesday marks Year 10 of the Great Capitalist Revolution — Big Bang, or, at least, it does for the Stock Exchange. The codgers among us may remember that deontological stockbroker actually occurred on October

27 1986, but the re-writing of history has been market-driven, apparently. Next week was the only "window" (ugh!) available for use of the lamented pre-Bang trading floor. Life, the stripey-blazer derivatives operation, will have taken charge by the time of the real Geburststag.

WHO'D have thought Lord Sterling was a modern romantic? The first lord of shipping is showing himself remarkably flexible in his attachments. Only a week or so ago, Sterling was crediting the decision to merge his container shipping operations with those of Nedlloyd to a "cultural compatibility"; to the fact he could share a pint and a discussion of music with his opposition of music with his opposite number at the Dutch shipping line. Into bed at one minute. But then swiftly out the other side an encumbrance. So much for sharing a pint at North Sea Ferries, where Sterling has just decided that a 50/50 venture is no longer tenable and he must have sole control.

# News in brief

## Losses pile up at British Biotech

INCREASED losses of £9 million were yesterday unveiled by British Biotech, the pharmaceuticals concern, for the three months to the end of July. The company maintained that the losses were within budget. The company maintained that progress on two drugs during the quarter was very significant, with further news on the compounds expected in two months. Leflupant, a drug to treat acute pancreatitis, the firm's first treatment, is set to be launched early next year. Peak turnover of £300 million a year is being forecast for the drug.

British Biotech was one of several such outfits to float this year. Investors were taken by surprise in July when the firm made a £143 million cash call. British Biotech was one of several such outfits to float this year. Investors were taken by surprise in July when the firm made a £143 million cash call. — Sarah Whiteloom

Hostile funeral offer MERGER mania yesterday knocked at death's door as Service Corp International, America's largest funeral parlour business, launched a hostile bid for its Canadian rival, Loewen. Although based in Canada, Loewen — North America's second largest — has virtually all its assets in the US. The offer, a share swap, is valued at \$2.8 billion.

Should the takeover succeed, it would result in a company with 3,750 funeral homes and 600 cemeteries, consolidating the fragmented "death services" in one fell swoop. But as the deal would merge the two largest players in the funeral parlour industry, it would come under antitrust scrutiny. — Mark Tran in New York

sleepy bookie

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مكاتب التحرير

Racing

Sleepytime has bookies at odds

Chris Hawkins
HENRY CECIL struck fear into the hearts of the bookmakers when sending out Sleepytime to make an impressive debut in yesterday's Grass Widows Maiden Stakes at Sandown.

he dismounted. "They couldn't go fast enough for her." Cecil was clearly deeply impressed by the speed of one of his more playful moods afterwards.

or the Rocked Stakes at Newmarket, but Cecil has plenty to choose from with Reams of Verse and Fleet River also high in his betting order.



Fast filly... Pat Eddery and Sleepytime are led into the winner's enclosure after their smooth success at Sandown yesterday.

Cheltenham put on Irish Craic

CHELTEHAM have rechristened their November meeting the Murphy's Irish Craic.

ners over the three days with Murphy's paying a travel allowance of £750 for every Irish horse which enters in one of the eight Whitbread-sponsored events.

This is the other end of the spectrum. For every prospering Cecil there are 20 trainers struggling to make ends meet.

Ayr runners and riders with TV form

Table listing Ayr runners and riders with TV form, including race numbers, names, and TV channel information.

Channel 4

Table listing Channel 4 race results and details, including race numbers, names, and times.

Lingfield

Table listing Lingfield race results and details, including race numbers, names, and times.

Rugby League

Betts puts his experience behind Farrell

Paul Fitzpatrick finds the GB vice-captain in positive mood for the Pacific tour

"We did not get off to the best of starts," recalls Betts. "We were beaten by Papua New Guinea in the first Test and that defeat could have had two effects. It could have dragged us down or dragged us closer together."

DENIS BETTS does not attempt to disguise his disappointment at missing out on the Great Britain captaincy for the tour of Papua New Guinea, Fiji and New Zealand which starts next week.

"I think if we use this tour correctly that could happen again. A number of players who were on only the fringes of selection have been drafted in. They now have the opportunity to establish themselves ahead of those players who, for whatever reasons, have pulled out of the tour. But they will have to stand up and be counted. There will not be any easy games out there."

As Farrell's vice-captain, the 27-year-old Betts, now with Auckland Warriors after an outstanding career at Wigan, is in a position to give his young skipper invaluable insight into the problems the team can expect in Papua New Guinea and New Zealand in particular.

For Frank Endacott, the New Zealand coach whom Betts knows well from his Auckland connection, this tour is the highlight of his career. It is something he has worked steadfastly towards, says Betts, and he is desperate to see the Kiwis win their first series against Great Britain since 1984.

Results

Table listing race results for Beverley, Sandown, and Yarmouth, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Channel 4

Table listing Channel 4 race results and details, including race numbers, names, and times.

3.50 High Hope Henry

Table listing race results for 3.50 High Hope Henry, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Yarmouth

Table listing Yarmouth race results and details, including race numbers, names, and winners.

RACELINE logo and contact information for Ayr, Lingfield, and Yarmouth.

Michael Roberts, the 42-year-old former champion jockey, returned from a seven-week lay-off with a fractured left wrist by winning yesterday's Golden Jubilee Challenge Handicap at Yarmouth on Secret Aly.

COCA-COLA CUP



Full stretch... Andy Gray of Leeds challenges as Mark Barnard clears for Darlington at Elland Road last night

PHOTOGRAPH BY FOSS KENNEDY

Coventry City 1 Birmingham City 1 Late Daish dash saves Sky Blues

Mark Redding THE Old Pals' Act retained its healthy constitution last night as Trevor Francis's Birmingham City and Ron Atkinson's 112 million misfits shared the honours in a curiously muted West Midlands derby.

Barnet 1, West Ham United 1

Cottee spares Hammers' blushes

Martin Thorpe A LITTLE man who has rescued West Ham on many important occasions did it again last night. With only 12 minutes left Tony Cottee rose to head home a Lazaridis cross to spare his team's blushes in a game they were about to lose.

Mautone was making his debut having been recalled from a loan period with Crewe after an injury to Miklosko. Rednapp had been toying with bringing in the No. 3 keeper Peter Shilton on his 47th birthday.

Dowie's headed centre. Despite the lack of the aforementioned foreigners Rednapp introduced a fourth overseas player into his side for the second half, bringing on Lazaridis to try and increase the threat down the left-hand side.

Swindon 1, Queens Park Rangers 2

Gascoigne the lightning before the storm

Patrick Glenn RANGERS' untroubled stroll into the semi-finals was assured long before Peter van Vossen scored his own second and Rangers' third with a low left-foot drive from four yards 10 minutes from time and Jorg Albertz got the fourth two minutes from the end with a ferocious 30-yard free-kick.

As one Englishman celebrated, another just looked 40. Ray Wilkins, on his return to Ibrox as a Hibs player, showed only the remnants of a once glowing talent.

latter's shot bounce over the line and into Leighton's right-hand corner. Van Vossen had an even clearer chance to score again later but, looking at Leighton from the six-yard line, he stabbed the ball against the goalkeeper's leg.

Swindon 1, Queens Park Rangers 2

Houston makes a winning start

David Foot IF Stewart Houston had any misgivings about burning down George Graham's overtures to join him at Elland Road, they were instantly forgotten as he jumped from his seat in the dug-out to extol the saving grace of QPR's brilliant, overdue late flurry that brought them two goals in two minutes.

They shrugged off their earlier indecision to wipe out Mark Walters' lead for Swindon with two adroit attacks, leading to goals from Daniele Dichio and Andrew Impy.

Once again the County Ground faithful were left to accept how badly Steve McMahon, the player-manager, has missed, both for his vision and sheer midfielder's sharpness. It was, however, a sharp piece of opportunism by Walters, a free signing from Southampton during the summer.

Coventry City 1 Birmingham City 1

Scottish Coca-Cola Cup, fourth round: Rangers 4, Hibernian 0

Celtic bonus row erupts

LEAKED reports that Celtic players are in dispute with their chairman Fergus McCann about win bonuses have been confirmed by the manager Tommy Burns. "This is something which will be settled internally and settled today," he said.

UNION LEAGUE, Premier Division: Arsenal 1, 0; Everton 1, 0; Tottenham 1, 0; Liverpool 1, 0; Manchester United 1, 0; Chelsea 1, 0; West Ham 1, 0; Barnet 1, 0; Queens Park Rangers 1, 0; Swindon 1, 0; Hibernian 0, 0; Rangers 4, 0.

COCA-COLA CUP, Second round, first leg: Barnet 1, 1; West Ham 1, 1; Birmingham City 1, 1; Coventry City 1, 1; Queens Park Rangers 2, 1; Swindon 1, 2; Hibernian 0, 0; Rangers 4, 0.

Swindon 1, Queens Park Rangers 2

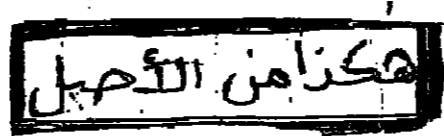
Expanded Far East World Cup dismissed as far-fetched

FIFA, the game's world governing body, yesterday dismissed as wishful thinking reports that the 2002 World Cup finals, which are to be jointly hosted by Japan and South Korea, would see an increase in participating countries from 32 to 40.

It's pie in the sky, said FIFA's spokesman Keith Warner. "It's an idea the Japanese have been quoted about in Japan but they have not discussed it with Fifa."

The regulations are not determined by organisers, only by Fifa. Absolutely nothing has been tabled for discussion. We have only just increased the World Cup to 32 teams.

Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including 'The Guardian', 'Soccer', 'Kinkiadze exit to let in Bassett', 'Hernia pester for Anderton', and 'Crickets'.





# SportsGuardian

## England rift with clubs widens

Robert Armstrong

**A** FRESH outbreak of acrimony between the Rugby Football Union and its leading clubs yesterday threatened this autumn's internationals at Twickenham.

Peace talks between the RFU and the clubs were undermined by more mudslinging by the two sides which led Twickenham to accuse Donald Kerr, the chairman of the clubs' umbrella body English Professional Rugby Union Clubs Limited, of "a deliberate attempt to split the RFU and conceal differences of opinion with Epruc". Kerr, in turn, berated the chairman of the RFU executive Cliff Brittle for allegedly "undermining the peace process".

Now negotiations between England and Australia, who want to play a Test at Twickenham on either November 2 or 16, have also stalled due to the uncertainty surrounding the future of the England squad which has not met so far this season because of the dispute. England are due to play home games against Italy on November 23 and Argentina on December 14.

Meanwhile a growing number of clubs, including Orrell, Sale, Gloucester, London Irish, Leicester, Waterloo, Wakefield and West Hartlepool plan to hold meetings to consider Epruc's threat to break away from the RFU on October 11.

Many members and officials have been alarmed by the way the England squad's preparations have been derailed by what they regard as a handful of businessmen who have invested in the clubs within the past year. Yesterday Kerr refused to give an assurance that the England players could train next Wednesday.

The clubs' latest attempt to use the England squad as a negotiating weapon against Twickenham produced an angry joint response from

Brittle and the RFU secretary Tony Hallett, whose tersely worded statement indicated a closing of the ranks. Their concern about the continued disruption to England's training plans prompted them to call on Epruc to "release their players to play for England at the very least to show good will".

The first meeting at Twickenham between England and Australia for five years — which would be worth around £4 million to both nations — has been placed in jeopardy because the RFU cannot guarantee a recognisable England team at a relatively short notice.

If the fixture is aborted the clubs and the players would suffer as much as the RFU given that all are desperate to enhance the revenue required to fund the professional game. "Surely there is no reason for anyone to knock us back this time," said John O'Neill, the Australian RFU chief executive yesterday.

According to Kerr: "We were fairly relaxed about the players attending England training but we now find it too early to comment on whether we will release them. Unfortunately Cliff Brittle... has been active behind the scenes in undermining the whole peace process."

"The RFU gave us certain undertakings and in return we agreed to release the players to try to take things forward on an amicable basis. We looked for an amicable parting of the ways on October 11 but it looks like being acrimonious rather than friendly."

It also remains to be seen whether the RFU will retain authority over the European Cup and Anglo-Welsh Cup now that the English, Welsh and Scottish clubs have agreed to form a European Rugby Federation, an umbrella organisation for all club competitions.

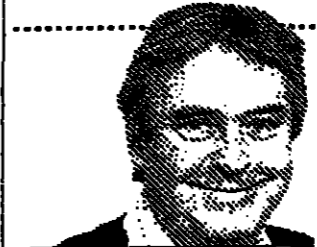
ITV is expected to decide in the next week whether or not to televise the European Cup, due to start on October 12.

### CUP SOCCER



Collision course... Birmingham's striker Paul Furlong, right, and Coventry's defender Richard Shaw challenge for midfield possession in the all-Midlands tie at Highfield Road last night. PHOTOGRAPH: MARK THOMPSON

## Raise a glass to the rout of moralists



Frank Keating

**T**HE decent family compassion and support pledged by both Arsenal and the Football Association to the drug-taking Paul Merson and the drinker Tony Adams shines out in comparison to the wretched reaction of Sussex CCC and the Test and County Cricket Board and their heavy-handed treatment of Ed Giddins, the promising England A pace bowler.

Just as he did at Merson's public mea culpa, the FA's director of public affairs David Davies this week announced: "Tony Adams can be assured of our total support." That in the month after a draconian Lord's banned Giddins from all cricket and, more than likely, wiped out his whole future career.

The fact that Merson and Adams seemed to use the tabloid press as a confessional somehow gives even more credit to the FA's reaction. But what business is it of Lord's what a cricketer does in his own time at a party? The police exist as the country's law enforcers. If a drug is performance-enhancing, agreed, a different matter — but if Giddins had opened the bowling when still "high" he would probably have broken the world record for wickets in an unfinished over.

It would be too much to hope that Sussex and the TCCB were having second thoughts about Giddins because, as the 20th century winds down, both seem happy to represent the sport's administrative mandarins who hanker for the 19th. The whole batty ethos they cling to was defined 132 years ago, in the Royal Commission on Public Schools in 1854: "... the cricket and football fields are not merely places of exercise and amusement; they help to form some of the most valuable social qualities and many virtues."

Rowlocks! In professional team sports of the 1990s you can be both unsociable and unmanly but, if your performance on the field is better than that of the bloke challenging for your place, you stay in the team. And, as long as you perform on the field, what do you do at off-duty parties should it not make a halfp'orth of difference.

Why do this Gestapo of morals inhabit only British sport? Do they test for drugs or alcohol at the entrance to the BBC each morning? Or Fleet Street? Or at the stage-door of the RSC? At the Institute of Directors, perhaps? Or at the House of Commons? Attend a party at the latter and you may go in thinking you have a drink problem but, once in, you know you are as abstemious as Bann-Powell.

Adams's courage should be applauded. Another confessed alcoholic (who has not had a drink for years) was the penalty-area maestro Jimmy Greaves, who once graphically explained the stress that Adams attempted to voice. "While with Spurs I drank heavily to help relieve the pressure of big-time football. My career covered an era when the game suddenly went sick and defeat became a dirty word. We used to get really stoked up for the games, with our adrenalin pumped so high a lot of us needed an after-match drink to bring us back to earth."

**I**T WAS 1981 that Greaves was reflecting in sobriety on his career — the same year Ian Botham indelibly signed his name with such honour on the Ashes urn. (It was five years before Lord's, lamentably, was to ban Botham for half a summer for admitting to having puffed a bit of pot in his youth).

On the eve of Botham's cataclysmic innings at the Headingley Test — on the Sunday of rest with England already looking beaten — he threw a party at his Yorkshire home, a party of epic and liquid splendour. It ended with the host the last man standing. He could not have had a hangover for 149 not out followed when he batted next day. Nor at In-dore the following winter when he hit 118 in 44 balls on another morning after a truly Rabalaisian night before.

Botham's voluptuous horary rymanship, inspired by the grape and grain, at Headingley was a Test innings of joy matched only by Gilbert Jessop's at The Oval in 1902. He, too, had been at the juice the night before, as he admitted in his memoir *A Cricketer's Log*: "As the night wore on, I found myself gambling on the proceedings of the morrow. It was done to assist in the laudable object of raising drooping spirits — and also to the fact that my first glass of Pommery that evening had produced that feeling which for want of a better word may be described as 'more-ish'."

More-ish — to the extent of killing his third bottle, before going out to slay the dragon on the field. If only today's prurient moralists could be routed with such ready ease.

## Singular new club with testy members who want to leave

Paul Weaver

**W**HEN members of the One Test Wonders Club gathered at Merchants Restaurant in Southampton on Tuesday evening, it might have been for a sulk-in, a communal bitch on the fickle nature of England's Test selectors. Instead they had a few beers and launched their club.

To play cricket for England is an honour and to play once, according to Hampshire's captain John Stephenson, is a singular honour. The club is his brainchild although he recruited his wife Fiona to do the Wisden slog and count the members. "There are over 80 cricketers who have played just

once for England and 19 of them are still living," said Stephenson, who qualifies by way of his solitary cap against Australia at The Oval in 1989. They might have called the club the Old Oval-Timers because that is where many of them made their first and last appearances.

"It is the only club I can think of which everyone wants to belong to but, as soon as they do, they want to lose their membership. I would certainly be happy to relinquish my card."

"A common strain among members seems to be that we were chosen to play at the end of a series and then were not chosen to play in a subsequent tour." Strangely they have selected as their president a

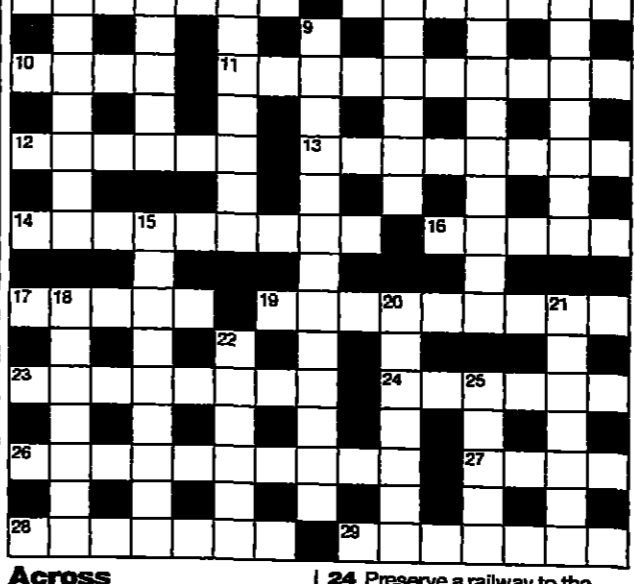
man who has won more England caps, 118, than anyone else: Graham Cooch. He was there on Tuesday night and was lucky they did not put a match to his droopy moustache. "It was a great turn-out and Norman Mitchell-Innes, who is 82 now and played for Oxford University and Somerset, popped along, although Hopper Read, who played for Surrey and Essex and is now 86, couldn't make it," said Stephenson.

"There were a few one-cap wonders of a more recent vintage, including Alan Butcher, Tony Pigott, Paul Parker, Dick Richardson and Arnie Sidebottom." The One Testers have designed their own club tie: blue silk with an England emblem and one cap hanging from it. "The idea," said Stephenson, "is to get together, raise a bit of money for charity and have a bit of fun in the process."

Other members include James Whitaker (1988), Alan Wells (1988), Joey Benjamin (1994), Joey Benson (1986), Andy Lloyd (1984), Ken Palmer (1964) and Dennis Brookes (1947).

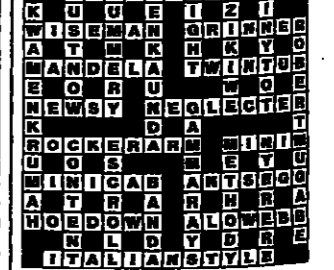
## Guardian Crossword No 20,762

Set by Janus



- Across**
- 1 Ineffective prescription for economy (7)
  - 5 Yield to professional dictator (7)
  - 10 Many find support over hunt (4)
  - 11 Award for celebrity on pleadings? (9)
  - 12 Jacket material for one out of three boatmen (6)
  - 13 Produce off-putting green tea (8)
  - 14 Was Cato saved by their pleadings? (9)
  - 16 They ruled over some rebellious Rastafarians (5)
  - 17 Felt badly about English ships (5)
  - 19 Displeasing kind of attack (9)
  - 23 Gift from party to state (8)

- Down**
- 2 Servant who must set out with drawback (7)
  - 3 Deceased king in aftertime (5)
  - 4 Where to see a bird on the ocean (7)
  - 6 Soldier is unable to retract (6)
  - 7 Has little confidence in underworld business arrangements (9)
  - 8 Formal document showing singer to possess skill (7)



Crossword solution 20,762

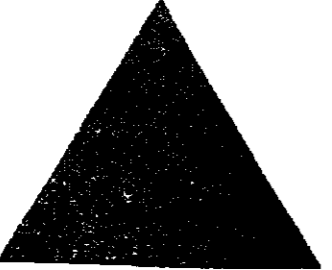
- 9 Report may follow excessive pressure by this member (7,5)
- 15 Labourer that is overcap perhaps (9)
- 18 Sentry's warning (7)
- 20 Cuts out taxes (7)
- 21 Barbilone boy put in meat (7)
- 22 Crushing defeat over bird (8)
- 25 In Wigan — or that direction (5)

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**Bass** BEST SELLING PREMIUM CASK ALE SINCE 1777

**She refuses to take my outstretched hand by way of introduction. Instead she keeps her paws tightly gripped on a glass of scary-looking vegetable purée.**  
Interview with Andie McDowell

Page 4

مكزامن التجميل

Screen 6 Music 1

Max

Inside